Triple (Identity) Threat: Multi-Layered National Identity Appeals in Republican Political Narratives During the 2016 and 2020 Presidential Elections

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ABSTRACT: National identity, as a broadly constituted social identity category, has been shown to hold power both as a source of political mobilization and as an enforcer of democratic stability. In recent years, Republican voters have reported stronger national attachments than Democrats, perhaps due to national identity's longstanding implicit associations with white racial identity – and the rising prominence of multiculturalist and globalist ideologies in recent decades.[1] In light of such findings, I propose that the rhetoric of Republican political elites may function to further exacerbate a stronger sense of national identity among their base by appealing to conjoined national *and* racial identities. This project investigates if and how Republican presidential candidates in the 2016 and 2020 elections employ national narratives in ways which have the potential to activate *both* sources of social identity when compared to the narrative elements employed by their Democrats counterparts. Through both "thin" and "thick" social narrative analysis, I found that Republican politicians were indeed more likely than Democrats to employ narratological techniques that implicitly affirm the notion of an ancestrally continuous and racially homogenous (white) nation. Such techniques may further raise the salience of both national and white racial identities among receptive audiences, and thus – given the associations between racial and partisan identities – may both reflect and exacerbate the growing association of national identity with Republican partisan identity and the growing power of Republican "identity politics" writ large.[2] This social identity alignment may benefit the GOP's political mobilization efforts while also perpetuating political polarization, threatening to distort the democratic function that national identity has been shown to perform.

Introduction

The idea of the "nation," and the power it holds, has long been a source of confusion and fascination for scholars. Why do people unquestioningly, even enthusiastically, display the national flag, celebrate national holidays, and voluntarily enlist in their country's military – in short, why are we willing to declare solidarity with millions of people we have never met? While political thinkers have long struggled to make sense of nationalism, its potential as a collective mobilizing force has been appreciated across time and cultures. That "nation-building" has long been understood as a crucial part of the state formation process, that political actors of all persuasions have weaponized nationalism for their objectives, and that we bitterly debate which values "the nation" stands for, demonstrates its unequivocal power. Particularly when compared to other potential forms of political community (such as religious or ideological coalitions), the national unit is notable for how it "can attract so much support with so little by way of organization,

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doctrine and continuous mobilization."[3] As both a driver of political mobilization and a necessary bulwark of democratic function and state stability, nationalism is commonly understood as a crucial, yet often invisible, political force.[4]

Recent political science research has empirically affirmed the importance of national cohesion to the function and capacities of the state – especially in the realm of public goods provisions. Across a diverse array of countries, scholars have demonstrated a correlation between strong national unity and more progressive tax policies (Lieberman, 2003), greater civic participation and interest in government (Reeskens and Wright, 2012), and greater public funding for education and infrastructure (Miguel, 2004).[5] In the United States specifically, a stronger sense of national identity has been shown to boost voting rates and other forms of civic involvement;[6] other research has demonstrated that in some cases, appeals to national identity can even supersede internal racial divisions, increasing white Americans' support for enhanced educational opportunity for minorities.[7] Such cases demonstrate that even outside of policy areas where appeals to nationalism would seem directly applicable (such as immigration or foreign policy), its salience – and just as critically, how it is conceptualized by both elites and the public – is an important influence on policy outcomes.

Clearly then, the nation, as collectively imagined, is not just significant in abstract, but acts as a critical mediating force in the function of democracy, facilitating the recognition of common interests among citizens, and the reciprocal obligations between the citizenry and their country. Understanding the nature and strength of these bonds is then essential to making sense of the limits and capacities of the state – in its ability to provide public goods as well as in its long-term stability.

Nationalism in a Social Identity Frame

Research in social identity theory provides critical insight into the nature of national attachment. As classical studies have demonstrated, individuals can quickly develop an affinity to any social group that they feel a subjective attachment towards (even those formed on the basis of extremely minimal differentiation), favoring in-group over out-group members past any rational assessment of intergroup conflict.[8] According to social identity theory, individuals strive to make their in-group "positively distinct" (in comparison with others), because one's *individual* self-esteem can be increased by a positive evaluation of one's in-group.[9] Such research in social identity coheres neatly with the consensus in classical nationalism scholarship that the origins of the nation as a political unit coincided with the demise of the dynastic realm and widespread religious uniformity – perhaps rising in prominence to provide a new source of group-based identity as another fell apart.[10]

When group-based social identities become salient, they can be potent enough to overpower self-interest, prompting individuals to act altruistically or make drastic sacrifices to increase the welfare or status of their in-group, especially when it is perceived to be under threat.[11] As Kramer and Brewer write, "inclusion within a common social boundary acts to reduce social distance among group members, making it less likely that they will make sharp distinctions between their own and others' welfare."[12] In other words, individual and group identities can become *fused* together to the point where the well-being of the group becomes indistinguishable from the well-being of the individual – insights which go far in explaining why, for example, citizens will willingly risk their lives in wartime to defend their country. Such instances of extreme identity fusion are most likely when one perceives their in-group to be under threat from an out-group, but even the mere *presence* of an out-group is enough to prompt in-group favoritism.[13]

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These patterns of behavior highlight another notable feature of group identity, which is its inherently exclusive nature. While the nature of in-group bias can certainly be expansive (in the case of the nation, conceptually flexible enough to include millions of unknown fellow in-group members**)** and is not necessarily accompanied by hostility towards out-group members, positive affect with the in-group does require some subjective comparison with some relevant out-group. That is, the altruism associated with social identities cannot be universally extended, but rather is predicated on an (either real or imagined) shared characteristic as the basis of in-group favoritism. This form of in-group bias can be so potent that even when distinct groups share superordinate goals, they may develop rivalries based on the *mere fact* of their differentiation.[14] In the context of national identity for example, individuals would likely be much more supportive of policy actions that would directly benefit U.S. citizens rather than foreigners – even if those foreigners come from allied countries or are perceived as sharing common values. In other words, the goodwill associated with in-group favoritism will always be limited, predicated as it is on the recognition of a comparable outgroup.

Such findings go far in explaining the often-ugly nature of nationalism. As a potent form of in-group bias, extreme nationalism has historically manifested in horrific and violent acts of nativist, anti-immigrant hostility, on both interpersonal and structural levels (e.g., anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic driven hate crimes against European immigrants in the late 19th century, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, and the 2018 zero tolerance immigration policies resulting in immigrant family separations). Particularly when the nation is conceptualized from a socially essentialist perspective – as categorically impermeable, with membership predicated on certain ascribed characteristics – nationals are much more likely to partake in extreme acts to eradicate perceived out-group threats.[15] The political implications of national identity must then be taken quite seriously.

Still, despite nationalism's potential as a source of hostility or violence, it is also worth emphasizing that national identity can function as an important stabilizing mechanism for democratic function by fostering a sense of unity and interdependency. When considered through frameworks like Gaertner and Dovidio's Common In-Group Identity Model (CIIM), one of the possible strengths of broad and abstract group identities like the nation is its potential to *supersede* other arbitrary intergroup distinctions and expand the sphere of in-group bias to include the welfare of former outgroup members.[16] Salient national identity could potentially be capable of mitigating inter-societal prejudice and conflict by prompting individuals to recategorize themselves as part of a larger, overarching group.[17] In other words, CIIM suggests that when *national identity* is salient as an identity category, individuals will reconceptualize their in-group to include Americans at large and extend their capacity for altruistic behavior to a much larger, demographically diverse group of people – a process which has at least some external validity in the U.S.[18]

Frameworks like CIIM also illuminate the fact that, despite the frequency with which national attachment is deployed in manipulative or exclusive ways, it can also be used to foster a sense of societal responsibility and solidarity and deployed for progressive projects as well – especially those aimed at improving collective welfare through provisional and redistributive policies. That is, when individuals understand their national community as socially meaningful, it intensifies their concern for the wellbeing of their fellow national in-group members and can prompt collectively oriented, rather than self-interested, political behavior. As Canovan writes, "If...justice is to be achieved by relatively consensual means, social justice will be feasible only in a polity with a high degree of communal solidarity."[19] Put differently, our potential for collectively

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oriented actions increases when we perceive ourselves as members of a collective. Clearly, then, national identity is a nuanced and multifaceted social category which escapes easy definition.

The Growing Partisan Split on National Attachment

Such questions are especially important in the current political climate, where the strategic deployment of national identity, once used widely by political actors regardless of party, has fallen into a partisan alignment. Although national identity has formerly been shown to be independent of ideology, it has become increasingly associated with the Republican Party in recent years.[20] A 2019 poll found that approximately 80 percent of Republicans described patriotism as a "very important" American value while only about 40 percent of Democrats said the same – about a 10 point drop overall from two decades ago.[21] Particularly in the context of the heightened political protest of the past several years, national identity has been evoked in strikingly conflicting ways; while a Black Lives Matter chapter recently declared the American Flag "a symbol of hatred," far-right activists stormed the U.S. capital adorned in American flag garb and echoing President Trump's marching orders to "stand strong for our country."[22] While protesters may represent two extreme ends of the U.S. ideological poll, the intonations of such associations resonate with the broader public; 66% of Republicans associate the American flag with their party, while only 34% of Democrats feel the same.[23] Such trends appear to demonstrate a growing partisan conflict in not merely what American national identity represents, but whether such an identity is valuable at all.

But although recent polls demonstrate an increasingly extreme split, Republicans have long been advantaged in their ability to effectively appeal to national identity. By examining how Americans conceive of their imagined political community through the lens of social identity theory and related research, we can begin to understand why the political pressures of the past 15 years have pushed the forces of national identity far into the Republican corner. And although ideology and other factors have certainly played an important part, the racial implications of American national identity are central to understanding its contemporary partisan undertones.

American Identity and Racial Identity

The Republican coalition today is striking in its racial homogeneity. The partisan realignment that began in the New Deal era and accelerated during the Civil Rights era (and accelerated yet again following the election of President Obama) has resulted in a Democratic Party defined by its multiracial coalition, and a Republican Party defined by its whiteness.[24] In 2020, 57% of white voters cast their ballots for President Trump (up from 54% in 2016) – the only racial group that (twice) supported him by a majority.[25] Compared to Biden, whose winning coalition was comprised of nearly 40% voters of color, only 15% of Trump's voter base was non-white.

At first glance, the demographic make-up of each party's coalitions would seem to have no bearing on their respective relationships with national identity, which is almost always explicitly discussed in non-racial terms. When asked outright what criteria is most important for national belonging, most Americans overwhelmingly favor value and civic-based nationhood rather than nativist or ethnocentric criteria. Adaptive traits like "feeling American," having U.S. citizenship, and valuing egalitarianism and tolerance are considered significantly more important to *being* an American than ascribed characteristics such as being born in the U.S. or being Christian.[26] Such civically determined conceptions of national belonging also seem to have reached a broader consensus in recent years. Since 2016, Americans have come to consider criteria like Christianity and being born in the United States as less important for national belonging – and

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although the shift has been more concentrated among liberals (whose views shifted by 28 points compared to 13 among conservatives), the embrace of an increasingly inclusive American identity is notable in its bipartisanship.[27] The implication from such findings would be that entry into the U.S. political community is simple – all that is needed is the embrace of certain values (mostly based in liberalism) and willingness to participate in U.S. civic society.[28]

However, even as egalitarian values have been explicitly embraced as foundational to American political membership in recent history, majorities of both white and non-white Americans demonstrate an implicit association of the "American" label with whiteness. That is, research has shown that Americans (of all races) are more likely to instinctively categorize generic white faces as "American" – and are also more likely to associate generic black and brown faces with foreignness.[29] To put this in terms of the CIIM model, the superordinate group identity of "American" does not seem capable of transcending racial intergroup distinctions in the U.S. because the superordinate category of group identity is already implicitly associated with a subgroup. As Dach-Gruschow and Hong propose in their research, the possibility of reconceptualizing an expansive, multiracial "American" category is limited by how firmly entrenched racial divisions are in the U.S.[30]*

* Centuries of structural exclusion and segregation has created what CIIM theorists label a *boundary condition* in the minds of many Americans, leaving them incapable of imagining a racially inclusive national community.[31]

Social dominance theory (SDT), developed by Sidanius and Pratto, also provides a helpful framework for making sense of the limited accessibility of the superordinate "American" identity.[32] This framework is especially compelling because it accounts for the larger socio-historical patterns of racially predicated exclusion and subordination that have traditionally defined American belonging. Echoing a long lineage of Critical Race theorists, Sidanius and Pratto argue that although the basis for formal citizenship is more racially inclusive today than ever before in history (and that the American political community is explicitly predicated on universalist, liberal principles, rather than ascribed ethnic traits), the most stable and long-lasting markers of national belonging are founded in racial hierarchy. Even as racial minorities have been successively granted the formal rights of citizenship, institutional and cultural systems remain designed to hinder the civic and cultural participation of racial minorities in the American national community.[33] At its core, the United States remains "a white nation, a Protestant nation, a nation in which true Americans were native-born men with Anglo-Saxon ancestors," demanding assimilation and subordination from those who do not fit the criteria for inclusion.[34]

Because of these historical patterns of dominance and subordination, SDT suggests that white Americans will have a much simpler relationship to national identity because of their hegemonic position in American society; that is, white Americans will feel greater ownership over conceptions of the "nation," because such conceptions have long been synonymous with white belonging. For racial minorities, on the other hand, national belonging is less straightforward, because national identity (in a nation which has long invalidated the political and human worth of people of color) is inherently incongruent with other forms of group-based identity they hold. These theorized relationships between competing identities are largely born out in the data. While there is a positive correlation between a strong sense of racial and national identity for white Americans, the inverse is true for non-white Americans – the more strongly one identifies with

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*But, see also: Transue, J. E. (2007). Identity Salience, Identity Acceptance, and Racial Policy Attitudes: American National Identity as a Uniting Force. *American Journal of Political Science*, 51: 78-91. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2007.00238.x.

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their racial minority group, the weaker their national identity.[35] National belonging has thus long been a quietly racially coded project, with evocations of national identity speaking not just to white Americans' sense of national belonging, but their racial identity as well.

Nationalism in the Age of Globalism

This relationship between national and racial identity, long apparent, has become particularly pertinent in this political moment, where both sources of identity have grown increasingly salient through the ascendance of globalist and multiculturalist ideologies. Over the past decade and a half, the credibility and purpose of once commonly respected American values and institutions have increasingly been called into mainstream debate, destabilizing the political and moral bedrock of U.S. society. Much of this is non-specific to the United States; as Western societies have grown more prosperous and politically stable, liberal democratic values – which deny the validity of particularistic attachments of exclusive group identities – have become almost universally accepted in mainstream political discourse, while values once taken for granted – like the special status of the national community – have increasingly been derided.[36] For some white Americans, many of the events which have defined this period (the election of Barack Obama, the increased cultural visibility of people of color, the Black Lives Movement, ongoing national conversations about structural racism, police violence, and xenophobia) have registered as a fundamental attack on the intricately linked racial and national groups with which they identify. As the joint identities of whiteness and American-ness rise in saliency together in response to the perceived threat of political change, they have grown increasingly associated with one another under cyclical patterns of rising globalism and reactionary populism – creating what is essentially a feedback loop. That is, as right-wing leaders have conflated national pride with white supremacy in increasingly flagrant ways, many on the left have written off patriotism altogether as a dangerous form of racism, coming to deny particularistic national attachments ever more vehemently.[37] And as the left increasingly avoids evoking national identity, the more closely it becomes associated with ethnocentric rhetoric of the right.[38] In other words, the political conditions created by ascendant globalist and multicultural values have brought racial and national identity into an especially close alignment over the past decade and a half.

Such a dynamic has noteworthy implications for the potency of social identity appeals on either side of the aisle, particularly for voter mobilization. Republican elites can use nationalist rhetoric to simultaneously raise the saliency of *both* national and racial identity for their predominantly white base, motivating them to act on the basis of multiple in-group loyalties. Instead of appealing to one form of group identity that is cross-pressured with another, Republicans' use of national rhetoric can potentially appeal to *two* coherent sources of identity simultaneously. And since racial identities have become conflated with partisan identities in recent years, as Sides Tesler and Vavreck have demonstrated, the conflation of white racial and national identities could *also* cause national identity to become increasingly associated with the Republican Party.[39] This layering of social identities may then provide a stronger foundation for political mobilization of the GOP base.

On the other side of the aisle, national identity is less likely to be considered an effective social identity appeal for Democratic elites. Not only might national identity appeals be cross pressured with non-white racial identities as they have become increasingly associated with whiteness under contemporary political pressures, but its racialization may have also increased its associations with Republican partisan identity as well. Because of the various identity cross-pressures associated with national identity for the Democratic base, appeals to national identity

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may not function as a tool for mobilization as effectively for Democrats as they do for Republicans. This could be potentially problematic for Democrats. While voters can of course be motivated by a number of elite tactics (and not merely rhetorical social identity appeals), the fact that Republicans are able to rely on such layered identity appeals and leverage the power of in-group behavior (group-motivated behavior which is likely more extreme due to the lack of identity cross-pressures) undoubtedly presents a political advantage.[40]

Such a development might also pose a challenge on the linguistic level. Especially in national-level politics, the language of nationalism has long been a default; politicians align themselves with their audience and evoke a sense of unity and shared purpose by calling on shared national identity (i.e., when politicians in national contexts talk about "us" ("our" interests, "our" values) they are almost always talking about "us" as *Americans*). Even as it has become increasingly associated with white identity, "the nation" continues to be the most common and familiar basis for collective identity in the United States; it is not at all obvious that there exists another linguistic framework for capturing the collective interests of American society in a political setting. As such, the partisan and racial associations of national identity matter immensely to a Democratic politician's ability to deliver any sort of effective or appealing political narrative.

With this in mind, I intend to investigate if Republican elites are indeed using national narratives which have the potential to speak to national *and* racial sources of identity, when compared to their Democratic counterparts. To do this, I analyze the narratological techniques undertaken by presidential candidates during the 2016 and 2020 election cycles. The electoral context is particularly well-suited to the aims of this investigation, since the candidates address a broad national audience in these contexts (transcending the more particularistic constituent communities, such as state or congressional districts, or specific demographic appeals to racial voting blocs) and are thus more likely to make appeals to a unifying national identity. At the same time, they are also largely operating within the expectations and ideological norms of their respective parties and largely appealing to their parties' respective base coalitions. While the partisan relationships to national identity likely shifted even in the four-year period between 2016 and 2020, both election cycles took place in a deeply polarized political climate where race was a salient and contentious factor.[41] It is also important to note that the parties' base coalitions shifted in only marginal ways between 2016 and 2020; while the share of different racial voting blocs shifted by a few points in either partisan direction (most notably in the form of an eight-point shift towards the GOP among Latinos), the Republican base was still overwhelmingly white (and the Democratic coalition significantly multi-racial) for both elections.[42]

A Note on Research Design: Assessing National Identity through Narrative

There has been considerable contention among nationalism scholars over how, and indeed if, it can be satisfactorily measured. As Huddy and Khatib write, "research on patriotism has been marred by a confusing array of terms, definitions, and expected consequences in which patriotism is variously defined as a sense of national loyalty, a love of national symbols, specific beliefs about a country's superiority, and as a crucial ingredient in the development of civic ties to a mature nation."[43] Even as I take their definition of national identity (derived from social identity theory) as the "subjective or internalized sense of belonging to the nation" as my starting point, it remains difficult to evaluate how it becomes externally activated by political actors (within the confines of their already limited power to influence their audience's individual identity construction). [44] Because the nation, as a site of social identity, is an *imagined* entity, it is constantly being reconceived in ever-changing historical conditions. The ways that individuals are likely to relate

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to their national identities are thus not stagnant, but rather highly layered and contextually contingent. In other words, to the extent that politicians *can* raise the salience of national identity in their speech, they do so not through a simple "cause-and-effect" mechanism (for example, simply evoking a national symbol, like the flag, does not on its own automatically raise the saliency of national identity), but through more complex rhetorical means.

Social narrative analysis provides one promising framework with which to examine the more nuanced means by which national identity is constructed. This methodology is predicated on psychological findings that human beings are natural storytellers; because we are predisposed to conceive of the world in narrative form, "stories have a vital a priori role as cognitive constructs, or even as cognitive scripts."[45] Psychological research on transportation theory provides some insight into this phenomenon; when individuals are "transported" into a particular "story world," they may become less able to "counter argue assertions or events in the story because [their] cognitive capacity is committed to imagining story events."[46] In other words, compelling national narratives can "move" us, increasing our identification with the nation, in ways which other rhetorical techniques (reciting the Pledge of Allegiance, for example) may not. In absence of any concrete interaction within such a widespread community, national stories can provide a common sense of who we are and how we came to be, linking our own lives to those from distant places and times, "creating a sense of familiarity, and probably emotional attachments between people…who have probably never met and never will."[47] National narratives are then a key site for the construction of national identity – and as such, a crucial tool for politicians as they attempt to wield its power in political speech.

To examine partisan uses of national narrative, I will be adopting Prince's minimalist structural definition of a narrative, as "the representation of at least two real or fictive events in a time sequence, neither of which presupposes the other"; this definition helps to account for the inherent, multiplicitous nature of national narrative as something that is communicated not in a singular telling, but which exists in relation to a larger body of narrative "versions." [48] This is particularly important when considering the narrative elements found in political speech, which is almost always sparse and non-adherent to a progressive time-sequence. The limits of political narrative, however, ensure that the narrative elements which *are* incorporated are necessarily meaningful, because they have been *chosen* by the speaker as worthy of inclusion.[49] In other words, the way in which politicians choose to rhetorically map the historical trajectory of the nation, or characterize its population or values, matters immensely for who or who is not included within it.

For this investigation, I will be looking primarily at two narratological elements: the use of temporality in narrative and the characterization of the nation as racially diverse. I predict that the Republican presidential candidates will be more likely to use temporally richer narratives and less likely to reference diversity in their political speech than Democrats, both of which would seem (in drawing from past findings in social narrative analysis and social psychology) to exacerbate or confirm linkages between national and white racial identities for reasons discussed below. To gauge partisan patterns in narratological construction both broadly and in depth, I employ both a "thin" level analysis of generalized partisan patterns, and a more detailed, "thick" level comparative study of two partisan speeches.

Part One: Thin Narrative Analysis of Closing Remarks in Primary Debates

Data Sample

To gain understanding into how Democrats and Republicans as partisan blocs employ national narratives, I will first be conducting a broad analysis of closing statements in the 2016 and 2020 primary debates. Closing statements are often rich with narratological elements; politicians are compelled to make a generalized, compelling appeal to their electorate, usually laying out their vision for the country, drawing on personal and historical anecdotes, resonant symbols, and values to communicate what their candidacy represents.[50] Rather than advocating for specific policies, closing statements are often emotionally-based attempts to mobilize supporters and can be powerfully leveraged by candidates; as Shenhav has shown, there is a positive correlation between the relative narratological strength of presidential contenders' closing statements and their ultimate electoral success.[51]

The contexts of these speeches (nationally broadcast electoral primary debates) already share some degree of similarity, but to control for potential differences further, I also predominantly selected closing statements from the beginning of the election for analysis (those from the first, second, third or fourth debates), though there were some exceptions (i.e., the samples from 2020 Democratic candidates Tom Steyer and Micheal Bloomberg, who joined the race later).

The wide field of candidates in both parties (particularly the Democratic field in 2020 and the Republican field in 2016) also provides a solid foundation for an analysis of generalized partisan behavior by accounting for the diverse range of ideology within each party. For the purposes of this investigation, I will consider "major" candidates as those who qualified for at least one debate. To that end, the set of closing statements analyzed for this investigation includes those from the 15 GOP candidates in 2016; and the five Democratic candidates in 2016 and the 22 Democratic candidates in 2020 (including Bernie Sanders, who was a primary contender both years). In total, I analyzed 94 closing statements (43 from Republicans and 51 from Democrats), examining the following narratological elements.

1. Temporality

Temporality, in its basic narratological definition, is a measurement of the time-sequence over which a narrative takes place.[52] As Prince's definition suggests, it is an integral aspect of narrative; speech without any temporal variation (i.e., a speech that takes place entirely in the present, without any references to past or future events) cannot be defined as a narrative.[53] Past research has shown not only how national narratives with denser time-sequences are more likely to deepen the audience's feelings of resonance with a historically continuous community, but also that the *belief* in historical continuity is itself correlated to socially-essentialist formulations of the nation.[54] Thus, if politicians present "the nation" as a historically continuous entity (for example, framing the contemporary U.S. as continuous with the U.S. of the Revolutionary era and the U.S. of the future), they may be implicitly lending credence to the belief of ancestral continuity in the nation-state, strengthening the linkages between national and racial identities – even if they themselves do not use socially essentialist narrative constructions.[55] Another way to understand the racial implications of a historically continuous narrative is in its assumption of a uniformly shared history. American history is thoroughly racialized; certain historical events carry conflicting emotional associations for different racial groups in America, which can make the work of navigating its meanings difficult for politicians who are addressing a multiracial audience. Using American history to affirm both national and racial sources of identity may then be a more

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accessible – and thus more common – project for political elites addressing an audience who can resonate with the empowered white perspective from which dominant understandings of American history have always derived.[56] In other words, because Republican elites largely need not confront the complex racial connotations of certain historical events or figures (i.e., the Civil War, Thomas Jefferson), they may be able to navigate American history in their narratives more freely – and thus more frequently.

To measure temporality, I adopted Shenhav's "relative narrativity" metric, adapting it slightly to control for variation in speech length:[57]

1. The total number of temporal references in each speech were counted and sorted into four temporal categories: distant past (before the birth of the speaker), past experiences (within the lifetime of the speaker), near future (within the next 10 years), or distant future (beyond the next 10 years). Temporal references were counted by clause within each sentence (to account for the fact that sentences oftentimes contain multiple and different temporal ranges).

2. Time periods furthest from the present (distant past and distant future) were doubled and counted as two references to improve the representation of relative temporal range.

3. The total sum of temporal references for one candidate were divided by total word count.

   a. <u>Hypothesis 1a:</u> The closing statements of Republicans will have a higher relative narrativity (i.e., they will be more temporally rich) than those of Democrats, because Republicans, in addressing their predominantly white base, have more reason to evoke the themes of historical and ancestral continuity which speak to both national and racial identities (and both parties will likely reference past experiences and the future at relatively equal rates) (H1a).

2. Racial References

Here, I attempt to measure how much politicians allude to racial diversity as a positive or neutral characteristic of the national in-group, compared to how often racial difference is treated as an out-group threat. To understand the significance of racialized references, I draw on Shenhav's definition of narrative "characters," and his rationale for inherent importance in political narrative. Shenhav argues that "characters" (which he defines as anything which can be rhetorically personified, including "the nation, firms, institutions, organizations, political parties, the government, our world, or our planet") are intrinsically significant within the constraints of public political speech.[58] That is, references to certain figures or populations are strategically selected by the speaker, and thus are inherently meaningful in the values and communities they are symbolically representative of.[59] I can thus assume that racial references in contexts like primary debates are not random (particularly in this age of the increased racial salience), but a purposive attempt to communicate one's values, rhetorically broadening the American community. Because of the longstanding conflation of whiteness and American identity, racial references can be understood as an attempt to challenge dominant American narratives, incorporating historically excluded populations in a new American story.[60] In other words, because American identity is often equated with white identity, the mere reference to racial diversity can cognitively disrupt the implicit conclusion that the United States is a "white" nation.[61]

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For the purposes of this investigation, I examine how often presidential candidates use the following racialized terms in positive or neutral ways (measured with Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count analysis [LIWC]):

      i.   Racial references (neutral): "African-American(s)," "Asian(s)" "Asian American(s)", "black(s)," "brown," "Caucasian(s),", "color(s)", "country(ies) of origin," "creed," "diverse," "diversity," "ethnic," "from all walks of life," "Hispanic(s)" "Hispanic-American(s)," "immigrant(s)," "Indigenous," "inner city(ies)," "Islam(ic)," "Jew(s)", "Judaism," "Latino/a/x(s)," "Mexico(an/ans)," "Native-American(s), "race(s)," "racial," "refugee(s)," "religion we practice," "religion you practice," "white(s)."

As a means of comparison, I also examined how often politicians referenced racial dog-whistles in an apparent attempt to "other" minorities, distinguishing them from "normal" (i.e., white) Americans. That is, since evoking racial identity can be a subtle way to reinforce the implicit whiteness of the American label, and exclude racial minorities from that identity, I also measure the frequency with which politicians use terms that clearly frame racial minorities as national outsiders – most of which are well-established as racial dog-whistles.[62]

      ii.   Racial references (negative): "criminal alien(s)," "criminal(s)," "drug dealer(s)", "extreme Islam(ic)," "gang(s)," "ghetto(s)," "illegal alien(s)", "illegal immigrant"(s), "inner city(ies)," "jihad(ist/s)," "law and order," "looter(s)," "moocher(s)," "radical Islam(ic)," "religious extremist(s)," "rioter(s)", "sharia," "states' rights," "terrorist(s)," "thug(s)."

    b. Hypothesis 1b: Republican candidates will be less likely to reference race overall but will be more likely to use negative racial terms than Democrats (H1b). As opposed to Democrats, who may be more likely to reference racial diversity to recognize or affirm the demographic make-up of their coalition, Republicans may instead use narratological framing which does *not* challenge the implicit associations between American identity and white identity. The Republican candidates also may be more likely to use language that frames racial minorities as malignant outsiders to the American community, in ways that could raise the saliency of both national and white racial identities to their base by evoking an out-group threat.[63] In contrast, these terms with such negative racial connotations are very unlikely to be used by Democrats as they address their multiracial base.

3. Nationalist Language

As a final supplementary metric, I measure how often Republicans and Democrats reference national symbols. Although merely referencing national symbols (appealing to *symbolic patriotism*) is itself not synonymous with fostering a sense of *national identity* (the subjective sense of belonging one feels with the nation), prior research has shown the two to be closely correlated – and thus they may be capable of evoking social identity sentiments or behaviors.[64] While national symbols can thus serve as seemingly race-neutral indications of national identity appeals, it is still worth noting that their evocation of traditional markers of national glory and pride adhere to dominant (white) constructions of national identity.[65] As such, how politicians use them – and in particular, how their usage of nationally symbolic language compares to their usage of racialized language – remains worthy of interrogation.

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I examine how often presidential candidates use the following nationalist symbolic terms (measured with Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count analysis [LIWC]):

      i. <u>nationalism dictionary</u>*:* "all men are created equal," "American dream," "American people," "Bill of Rights," "Constitution," "Declaration of Independence," "e pluribus unum," "eagle," "flag," "Founding Document(s)," "Founding Father(s)," "God Bless America," "greatest country", "In God we Trust," "Lady Justice", "Lady Liberty," "Liberty Bell," "life liberty and the pursuit of happiness," "most powerful nation in the world," "national anthem," "one nation under God," "patriot(s)," "Pledge of Allegiance," "protect our troops," "sea to shining sea," "stars and stripes," "Statue of Liberty," "this great nation," "White House."

      c. <u>Hypothesis 1c:</u> Republican candidates will more frequently reference national symbols then Democratic candidates (H1c). Because national symbols are associated with a particularly traditional, dominant national narrative, they may covertly resonate with more racially exclusive forms of nationalism.
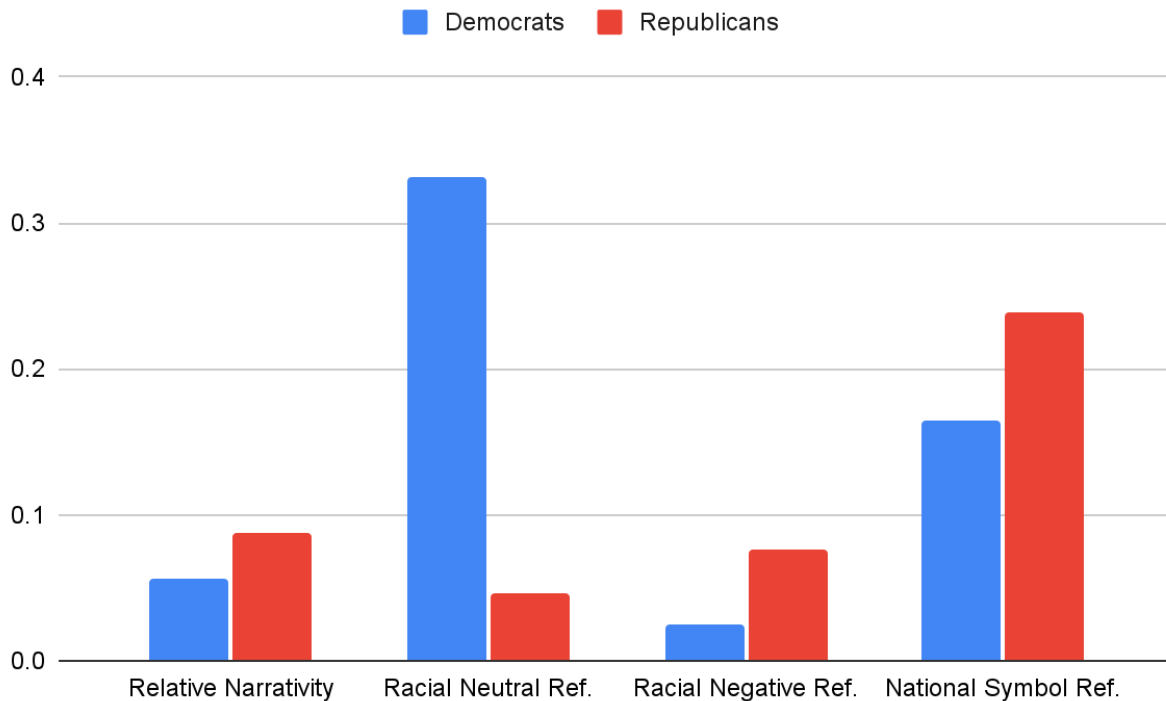
Findings and Analysis

As stated above, I expected that Republican closing statements would be more likely to contain narratological elements which could activate both national *and* racial identities by rhetorically constructing the nation as a historically continuous, racially homogenous entity. More specifically, I expected that Republican closing statements (when compared to those of Democrats) would have a higher average relative narrativity score (H1a); would contain fewer racialized references in general but would be more likely to contain negative racial references (H1b); and that they would be more likely to employ symbolic national language (H1c). The average scores for each dimension of the party's closing statements adhered to each hypothesis; however, only the differentiation in racial neutral references reached statistical significance.

While Republican statements did have a slightly higher relative narrativity score of 0.0627, as opposed to the average for Democratic statements of 0.0574, the difference was not statistically significant. While Republicans in general *may* have been slightly more likely to evoke temporally richer narratives and more frequently reference the "distant past," this is not captured by the relative narrativity metric, which equally weighs references to both the distant past and distant future. It also seems likely that differences in narrative temporality were more so due to differences in individual rhetorical style, rather than generalized partisan modes of communication; a large set of both Democrat and Republican candidates evoked the distant past and distant future in compelling ways to situate their candidacy in the broader American story, but not all (especially Democrats) did so in ways that aligned with dominant American examples. For example, in the second debate, Julián Castro provided a compelling historical narrative which includes traditionally marginalized populations; "...we stand on the shoulders of folks who have made beds and made sacrifices, people that fought in wars and fought discrimination, folks that picked crops and stood in picket lines, and they helped build the wonderful nation that we live in today."

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Chart 1a: Narrative Elements in Democratic and Republican Closing Statements

	Temporality	Racial	References	Nationalist References
	Relative Narrativity:	Racial Neutral	Racial Negative	National Symbols:
DEM AVG:	0.0574	0.332	0.025	0.165
GOP AVG:	0.0627	0.046	0.077	0.239

Figure 1a: Narrative Elements in Democratic and Republican Closing Statements

The difference between partisan use of racially neutral references was the only variable which met statistical significance, with Democrats making racialized references 0.332% per word count, compared to Republicans, who on average referenced them only 0.046% per word count. The use of these racial references often were utilized in calls for unity or justice ("For the last three years, we've watched Donald Trump pit working people against each other, black versus white, citizen versus immigrant" [De Blasio, second debate]; "They've tried to divide us, who's white, who's black…" [Ryan, first debate]; "We can tell our kids that…[we] deliver[ed] a society where race has no bearing on your health or your wealth or your relationship with law enforcement" [Buttigieg, second debate]).

In comparison (and in keeping with my hypothesis), Republicans made racialized references quite minimally, although they were slightly more likely to use racial negative language that framed non-white populations as national outsiders (0.077% of racial negative references per

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word count, compared to 0.046% of racial neutral references per word count) than to use racial neutral language associated with celebrating America's diversity. Notably, Republicans almost exclusively used negative racial language in reference to *foreign policy threats,* rather than American citizens; the more frequent phrases used were "terrorists" (Christie [first debate], Cruz [second debate]) and "radical Islam" (Cruz [second debate], Graham [second debate]). While this sort of language is then not directly applicable to the ostracization of racial minorities within the U.S., it is worth noting that this sort of Islamophobic language has been shown to generate animosity and increase hate crimes towards Muslim citizens, and thus, cannot be completely disentangled from the broader project of racialization of American identity (Lichtblau, 2016). It is also worth noting that some of the words in my dictionary, coded either as "racial neutral" or "racial negative" may have been evoked by candidates in ways that did not carry the connotations I expected and could have distorted the results.

Finally, as hypothesized, Republicans evoked national symbols slightly more frequently than Democrats, with an average of 0.239% of references per word count, compared to 0.165% references per word count, though again, this differentiation failed to reach statistical significance –perhaps not surprising, given the general nationalist atmosphere of federal elections. While again, the use of symbolic nationalist language has not been shown to have a direct bearing on the strength of national identity, it is still notable that Republicans were slightly more likely to employ it in their rhetoric, especially when compared to the frequency with which they employed racialized rhetoric.

There are also interesting insights to be found in comparing rhetorical trends *within* each party; Democrats were significantly more likely to use racially neutral language than either racially negative language or nationally symbolic language. In contrast, Republicans were more likely to use nationally symbolic language than racially neutral language, and significantly more likely to use nationally symbolic language than racially negative language. These narratological patterns in Republican closing statements (frequently employing symbols of national glory or pride, while infrequently and non-explicitly referencing race) could very well function to further promote the notion of the U.S. as a white nation – or at the very least, accommodate pre-existing associations of whiteness with national identity.

The overall inconsistency of narrative deployment within the partisan blocs could be in part due to the inconsistency in the data set itself; while many candidates' closing statements *were* rich with narrative elements, relating their candidacy or personal history to the broader sweep of American history and describing the U.S. and its values in vivid ways, others used their closing statements to advocate for a single policy or state why they were more viable candidates than their competitors. As such, the temporal range of narrative as well as quantity of racialized or nationally symbolic references may be more largely contingent on the candidate's specific rhetorical strategy *in that moment* (to alleviate voters' doubts about a potential weakness they may have as a candidate or to re-emphasize a point they made earlier in the debate), one which may not involve raising the saliency of national identity.

That being said, in examining the potential cumulative effect of each partisan grouping of closing statements, the degree to which the Democratic narratives place racial diversity as a key American characteristic is significant when compared to that of Republicans, which notably does *not* challenge the links between American identity and whiteness – and thus perhaps implicitly affirms it, given the pre-existing relationship between the two. Because Republican narratives evoke themes of historical continuity and racial homogeneity (with higher measures of relative narrativity, fewer allusions to race, and the frequent use of dominant and recognizable national

symbols), it appears that they could in fact function to appeal to white racial identities in addition to national identities.

Part Two: Thick-level Narrative Analysis of Trump and Biden's 2020 Convention Speeches

To complement the relatively surface-level analysis of how national narratives are broadly structured as a function of partisanship, I also performed a more detailed narrative analysis of two political speeches – at full length – to gain deeper insight into relative narrative strength and impact. I chose to do a comparative study of Joe Biden's speech at the closing of the 2020 Democratic National Convention and Donald Trump's speech at the closing of the 2020 Republican National Convention, in which each candidate accepted their party's nomination for President. The full transcripts of Biden's speech and Trump's speech can be found in Appendix 4 and Appendix 5 respectively. I chose these speeches because they are symmetrical; each takes place in the same political moment at the beginning of the 2020 general election (Biden spoke on August 20th, and Trump spoke on August 24th), with both candidates formally assuming the responsibility of representing their party in the coming months. It is worth noting that the timing of these speeches (immediately following the national racial reckonings of the summer of 2020) could offer further insight into how each partisan interacts with national identity's relationship to race, not captured from the Part One dataset, which analyzed GOP statements only from 2016.

Biden and Trump's addresses are also tailored for their respective audiences in similar ways; while the conventions are themselves partisan events, these final speeches represent a pivot towards the general election, where each candidate must begin to make a broader appeal to the country and speak to potentially undecided voters, as well as members of their own party. Beyond this symmetry in context, these speeches are a particularly appropriate venue for assessing and comparing the use of national narrative. Like closing statements, closing convention speeches are often heavily symbolic, drawing on certain conceptions of American history and values to ground each candidate's campaign in a larger national story and mobilize voters on its behalf. There are also meaningful similarities between the narrators themselves; both Donald Trump and Joe Biden are white men in their 70s and well-established political actors. The shared characteristics of the narrators and the context of their speech lends credence using solely the narratives' story elements as the basis for comparing their ultimate strength and effectiveness towards raising the salience of national identity.

Because Trump's speech (which ran for 1 hour and 1 minute) was much longer than Biden's (running for 25 minutes), I controlled for length in some contexts. However, doing so did not always feel appropriate for every metric of assessment, as discussed below. Particularly given the fact that the speeches took place in a symmetrical context, and that both candidates presumably had equal freedom to speak for as long as they wanted, there is certainly value on evaluating both on their own terms, especially as I consider the relative richness of each candidate's narrative construction.

My framework for assessing these narratives was three-fold:

1. Temporality
First, as in Part One, I assessed each narrative's relative temporal density and racial references, to capture how thoroughly each narrative respectively appeals to themes of historical continuity and racial homogeneity. My analysis is predicated on the same definitions of temporality and characters elaborated above.[66]

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To assess each narrative's appeals to historical continuity, I again used the relative narrativity metric.[67] But to get a deeper sense of *how* exactly each narrative's time sequence is populated, I also counted and coded each character according to predefined temporal categories and calculated the total number of references of all characters in each time period. Characters referenced in multiple time periods were counted for all relevant time categories. For the organizational purposes, I coded the temporal locations of characters in the following categories: Ahistorical, Pre-Founding, American Founding, First half of 1800s, Second half of 1800s, First half of 1900s, Second half of 1900s, Unspecified Past Experience (if the time frame was not identifiable in the narrative), and Present Day (2000-2020).

    ii.   <u>Hypothesis 2a:</u> Trump's speech will contain a more temporally rich national narrative, with a higher relative narrativity and references to more historical periods than Biden's, in accordance with the same rationale that led to my predictions for H1a in Part One (H2a).

    1. Racial References

I also further interrogated to what extent each narrative appealed to racial diversity, assessing how each character is racialized, and how prominently they appear in the narrative – or how many times they were referenced in proportion to the total number of references to characters, with references counted by sentence. As explicated before, references to racial diversity are intrinsically notable within political narrative, as they have been strategically included by the speaker. Specifically, I asked; Which speaker more frequently mentioned characters who were overtly racialized as non-white, implicitly racialized as non-white, overtly racialized as white, implicitly racialized as non-white, or not racialized?

    iii.   <u>Hypothesis 2b:</u> Biden will more frequently reference overtly non-white characters (and a greater number of distinct racial or ethnic groups) and Trump will more frequently reference non-racialized characters, implicitly racialized characters, and overtly white characters, this in accordance with the same rationale that led to my predictions for H1b in Part One (H2b).

    2. Discussion of Narratological Themes

To complement this, I will also discuss each of the candidate's respective narrative styles, rhetorical motifs, and general characterizations of America, assessing how each elucidates the interplay of national and racial identities.

Findings

    For the purposes of analysis, I did not count the speaker's references to himself, as to better understand the significance of the frequency with which other characters were mentioned. Not including self-references, Biden referenced 54 characters (363 character references total), and Trump referenced 96 characters (629 references total). They mentioned 24 of the same characters, with Trump making a greater number of references to almost every character, except for "women" and Franklin Roosevelt. Because the personal, political, and historical cannot easily be separated within political narrative, all characters (regardless of if they are evoked in the context of personal relationship, historical reference, or as a contemporarily salient political actor) were counted indiscriminately.[68]

1. Temporality and Historical Dispersion of Characters

    As hypothesized (H2a), Biden's speech takes place within a much narrower narrative realm, with a relative narrativity score of 0.048 as opposed to Trump's relative narrativity 0.079.

It is particularly notable how much more of Trump's speech takes place in the *distant past* (78 references compared to 10 in Biden's speech) evoking past American history more than four times as frequently as Biden when controlling for word count (see Chart 8.2).
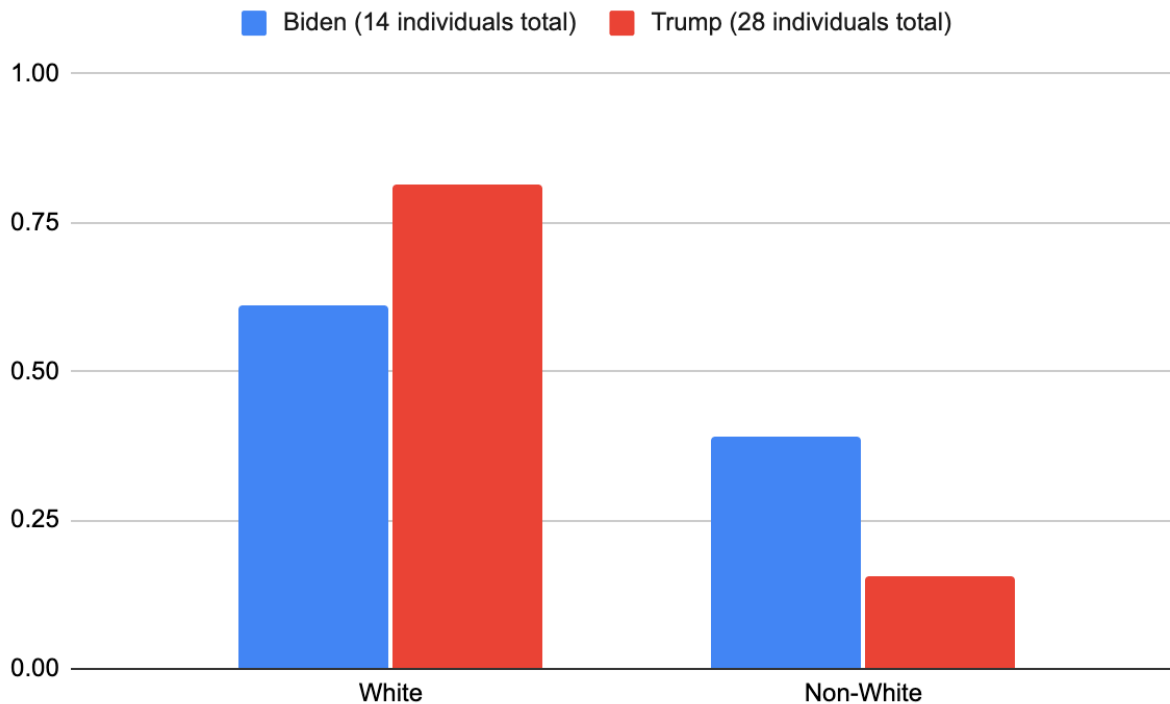
Chart 2a. Temporal Dispersion of Characters (percentage and raw reference count)

Time Period	Ahistorical	Pre-founding	American Foundin	First half of 1800s	Second half of 1800s	First half of 1900s	Second half of 1900s	Unspecified Past Experience	Present Day
Trump	11.45% (3)	0.16% (1)	0.32% (2)	0.16% (1)	2.70% (7)	0.96% (4)	1.27% (4)	1.76% (4)	81.22% (72)
Biden	8.32% (6)	0%	.28% (1)	0%	0%	1.11% (3)	.56% (2)	3.31% (4)	86.42% (42)

The differentiation between the two speakers' character lists and their distribution over time again reinforces Biden's relatively limited temporality. Although most of each speaker's narratives are situated in the present (here, defined as including recent political history of the 21st century), there is significant variation in how often each speaker references historical events. As opposed to Biden, who makes only one reference to American history before the early 20th century (the writing of the Constitution), Trump makes at least one reference to every temporal category, including most epochs (the Pilgrims' arrival, the American Revolution, Westward expansion, the Civil War, and abolition of slavery, both World Wars, the Civil Rights era) that are traditionally thought of as foundational in U.S. history. Trump also speaks in ahistorical terms (in reference to God, America, and a generalized "we"), more frequently than Biden does.

2. Character Racialization

Apart from differences in time sequence, Biden and Trump's speeches also differed significantly in the extent to which they incorporated themes of racial diversity. Looking at the relative racialization of each speech (see Chart 8.4), Biden made significantly more overt non-white racialized character references (11.29%) than Trump (4.29%), although both made roughly the same proportion of references to explicitly white characters (individuals and groups of people), with 12.21% and 12.56% respectively. Notably, Trump made a significant number of *implicitly* racialized references (racial dog whistles) to characters such as "criminals" (speaking of the racial uprisings of that earlier summer), "immigrants," "the China virus" and "extreme jihadists", as well as groups acting in opposition to those groups such as "immigration enforcement," and "law enforcement." [69]

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Figure 2a: Racial References (individuals and groups of people only)

Although Trump did not then reference race overall as frequently as Biden (14.3% as compared to 23.5% of total character references), he did do so in covert terms significantly more, echoing the pattern found in Part One. Biden also referenced a greater number of overtly racialized characters (see Chart 8.5), referencing Black characters at almost three times as often as Trump, and referred to Hispanic Americans, Native Americans, and Asian Americans once each. In comparison, Trump referenced only Hispanic Americans once and Arabs (from outside the United States) twice.

When looking only at *individuals* and *groups of people* referenced (that is, discounting references to racial demographics like "African Americans"), Biden continued to reference non-white characters more frequently; 39% of individuals and groups of people named were non-white, as opposed to 15.46% of Trump's references (see Chart 8.10, and also Figure 2a above). These findings mostly cohere with my predictions (H2b), except for the fact that both speakers reference overtly white characters roughly the same amount. For findings on how each frequently each speaker references diversity pertaining to nationality, gender, and ideology refer to Chart 8.6, Chart 8.7 and Chart 8.8 respectively. To see how the rationale for inclusion of each of the speaker's characters, see Chart 8.9.

Overall, Trump's speech does seem to contain stronger themes of historical continuity and racial homogeneity when compared to that of Biden's. His narrative is temporally thicker, and more densely saturated with American history, which would seem to evoke the sense of historical continuity correlated with socially essentialist themes.[70] And with only 4.29% of references as overt allusions of non-whiteness, it is also evident that Trump's narrative adheres to historically *dominant* American self-conception and traditional markers of national belonging – evoking white racial hegemony while largely ignoring racial diversity.[71] In comparison, Biden's narrative was much more situated in the present, harkening back to American history relatively little. His more

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frequent references to racial minorities (11.01% of total references) point to his efforts to structure a more modern, inclusive American narrative. As will be expanded on below, the historical and racial themes found in Trump's speech are quite effective at pairing national and white racial identity when compared to Biden's.

3. Discussion of Narratological Themes

Biden

Biden's DNC address is founded in urgency. Throughout the speech, he consistently situates the 2020 election as a political crossroads which will have far-reaching consequences for the country's long-term stability and prosperity. Describing America at a historic "inflection point," simultaneously engaged in four moral-political crises (the coronavirus, the resulting economic fallout, climate change, and a racial reckoning) that are challenging America on an unprecedented scale, he nonetheless is optimistic in his message; "in this dark moment, I believe we are poised to make great progress again. That we can find the light once more."

This rhetorical motif of lightness and darkness is recurrent throughout Biden's entire speech; he speaks of the country as being in a "season of darkness," with Trump being its perpetrator, the one who "has cloaked America in darkness for far too long." For the most part, the motif of darkness is vague, and (besides specifically framing Trump as the cause of the darkness), he discusses it mostly in terms of non-quantifiable, moral descriptors like "anger," "fear," "division" and "unfairness." Which events and phenomena this darkness specifically constitutes, and what other actors may be perpetuating it, is left largely unanswered. Throughout the entirety of Biden's address, only Trump, Russia (for its foreign interference in U.S. elections), and the white supremacists who protested in Charlottesville are framed as malignant actors. Biden thus draws a delineation between Trump, the irredeemable creator of America's darkness, and the majority of his supporters who have only been "cloaked" in darkness (although he frames the white supremacists of Charlottesville as similarly irredeemable). The "anger," "fear," and "division" that have defined this season of darkness is only a temporary infection of the American public, who, at their core, are "a good and decent people," capable of returning to a "path of light." In this way, he frames the American public as a mostly passive entity, not *creating* political or moral outcomes but enduring them.

This motif also carries a strong religious undercurrent, one that is cohesive with some of the other language Biden uses in his speech, as well as a broader rhetorical tradition of evoking an "American civic religion" a device that likely makes his speech more compelling to some listeners by drawing on familiar national narrative elements.[72] Particularly in Biden's frequently recurring call to "win the heart and soul of America," America is personified as a sinful but redeemable entity (particularly in regard to its racial history, as will be discussed below), challenged by dark forces of evil but ultimately capable of being "reborn." Biden thus implicitly frames *himself* as the deliverer of redemption, capable of restoring "hope over fear, facts over fiction, fairness over privilege." He evokes the Christian belief in the power of "love and light" to ultimately prevail over "darkness and evil," optimistic that he and his campaign (an "ally of the light") will overcome the darkness of the Trump era. As he says, "May history be able to say that the end of this chapter of American darkness began here tonight as love and hope and light joined in the battle for the soul of the nation. And this is a battle that we, together, will win." Biden also raises the stakes of this moral battle by calling on America's responsibilities as a global leader; part of our "great purpose as a nation" is to "be a light to the world once again."

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Though Biden predominantly uses ahistorical, moralistic terms to describe his campaign's vision, he also grounds his message through appeals to American history and iconographic language. Most directly, he links himself to Franklin Roosevelt, another Democrat who met a dark era of economic and public health crises with progressive reform. Using the historical era of the 1930s as an example, Biden suggests that contemporary problems must be met in the same fashion; not only with similarly bold, progressive policies but also through the reunification of the American people. He utilizes iconic, Constitutional language to sacralize the importance of unity, calling for "We the People to come together…. I believe there is only one way forward. As a united America. United in our pursuit of a more perfect Union." In this way, he does not explicitly acknowledge the divisive nature of progressive, New Deal-scale policies which he is advocating for, but instead treats them as part of a larger existential project that transcends party lines; "America isn't just a collection of clashing interests of Red States or Blue States....We're so much better than that." By deriding the "clashing interests" of each party, Biden then seems to bestow his campaign with a higher moral purpose that rises above partisan battles and seeks to return America to an era of *light,* the return of fundamental moral values; "Character is on the ballot. Compassion is on the ballot. Decency, science, democracy are on the ballot." Biden further signals the moral gravity of his campaign by quoting Civil Rights activists Ella Baker and John Lewis, covertly aligning his campaign with a larger historical battle for social justice in the United States.

However, Biden's message of moral redemption is complicated by a rhetorical confusion in his argument about *how* morally worthy the United States in fact is. In some parts of his speech, he suggests that America has historically been a site of moral good. The "darkness" of the Trump era is just a temporary "season," inhibiting America's potential to be a "generous and strong, selfless and humble" society; the next president's job will be to "*restore* the promise of America to everyone" [italics added]. Yet, in other moments, Biden frames the "promise of America" as something which has yet to be achieved, suggesting that America has never been a truly moral society. He speaks of the historical quest "to finally live up to and make real the words written in the sacred documents that founded this nation that all men and women are created equal." This discrepancy is particularly glaring when Biden discusses racism; using language suggestive of religious absolution, he asks "will we be the generation that finally wipes the stain of racism from our national character?" In this characterization, the sin of racism has been an enduring attribute of America's national character, inseparable from it since its founding. He similarly frames the lived American experience as one of exclusion and oppression in reference to his running mate Kamala Harris; "Her story is the American story. She knows about all the obstacles thrown in the way of so many in our country. Women, Black women, Black Americans, South Asian Americans, immigrants, the left-out and left-behind."

In this way, then, Biden contradictorily characterizes America both as a fundamentally "good and decent" nation, but also as a site of racism, economic and social obstacles, where full equality has never been realized; the lived American experience has not yet caught up with American values. Biden extols the "idea" of America, something that has yet to be historically achieved. And while he is optimistic about the potential of finally uniting them, of "mak[ing] history and hope rhyme," this characterization of America makes for a much more confusing conception of what the *nation is,* and as an extension of this, what constitutes membership into it– something which becomes problematic from a social identity theory perspective.

Biden's speech contains zero explicit discussion of what makes someone an American; this is significant in itself, but the vagueness of his conception of the nation becomes particularly clear when following the implicit logic of the rhetorical constructions he *does* employ. If the legitimacy

of being an American is definitely *not* predicated on historical inclusion (if the "American story" is one of the "left-out and left-behind"), Biden seems to be suggesting that the basis for being an American is respect for certain values, to be "generous and strong, selfless and humble." And yet, this characterization is weak, not only because he himself discusses how these values have not yet been incorporated into American life (they are theoretical), but also because such so-called American values are not characterized as *distinctly* American; using a globalist framework, he pledges to "stand always for our values of human rights and dignity...work[ing] in common purpose" with U.S. allies. The confusion is furthered because the refusal to adhere to certain "American' values isn't grounds for exclusion from the American in-group; Biden is extremely reticent to ostracize any subpopulation in the U.S. except for Trump and Neo-Nazis, likely because of his broader rhetorical mission to "unite" America again. For example, even in his discussion of inequity, he speaks of the wealthy (a common villain in liberal political speech) in fairly neutral terms; "I'm not looking to punish anyone. Far from it. But it's long past time the wealthiest people and the biggest corporations in this country paid their fair share." From a social identity theory perspective, then, Biden's in-group construction is fairly weak, with nebulously determined boundaries and unclear norms of group membership.[73]

Trump

Most notable in Trump's RNC speech is his discussion of threat. Whereas Biden's central motif of "darkness" is vague and non-personified, Trump's speech is defined by his much more concrete descriptions of the dominant threats facing the American people -- all of which are tenuously linked or aligned in some way -- and his own role in "defend[ing] America against all threats and protect[ing] America against all dangers." This is particularly notable in comparison to Biden, who specifies only Trump, Russia, white supremacy, and the pandemic as explicit threats to the nation.

The entities which Trump most often references in terms of threat are the pandemic (36), criminals (15), socialists (13), China (13) immigrants (11) and the political establishment (9). In almost every case, he presents the threat as existentially urgent, and like Biden, frames the 2020 election as determinative of the United States' long-term stability and prosperity; "... everything we have achieved is now endangered. This is the most important election in the history of our country." The threats Trump describes play out on a multitude of dimensions, but all ultimately pose a threat to the American way of life, often in converging ways. For example, China poses both an economic threat ("stealing our jobs [and] ripping our country blind") and a public health one (for the "pandemic [they] allowed to spread around the globe"). Immigrants (often referred to as "criminal aliens") also pose both economic and national security threats (by "stealing YOUR healthcare dollars" and violating U.S. borders) but are also heavily criminalized, labeled as "gang members" and "human traffickers" and conflated with the larger criminal population of "anarchists, agitators, rioters, looters, and flag-burners." From his discussion of criminals more broadly, with repeated references to the June racial uprisings of that year, it is clear Trump's conception of criminality is heavily racialized; he frames the "rioters and criminals" as unleashing a state of violence into American streets and neighborhoods, dehumanizing them as "monsters" and dismissing their aims as destructive and chaotic. The far left (often not clearly differentiated from Democrats in general, nor with the "political establishment") has not only enabled and supported this chaos and threat, but also are aiding its destructive mission in the ideological and religious spheres. Whether by their critique of Christian institutions or perpetuation of cancel culture ("The far-left wants to coerce you into saying what you know to be FALSE, and scare you

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out of saying what you know to be TRUE"), Trump argues that "in every case, the attacks on American institutions are being waged by the radical left." Trump also makes frequent references to the specific dangers facing women and children (such as foreign "human traffickers who prey on women and children" and pro-choice liberals "who have no problem with stopping a baby's beating heart in the ninth month of pregnancy"), raising the stakes of his threat construction by evoking populations commonly seen as vulnerable and in need of protection.

At the nexus of all these sources of threat is Biden, who is a central figure in Trump's speech (referenced most frequently after "America" and Trump himself). Trump frames Biden not only as a "weak" and incompetent leader, but one aligned with all the forces which are fundamentally threatening American life. He is an ally of China ("Joe Biden's agenda is Made in China"), immigrants ("He also supports deadly Sanctuary Cities that protect criminal aliens"), criminals ("During their convention, Joe Biden and his supporters remained completely silent about the rioters and criminals spreading mayhem..."), and the far left ("Biden is a Trojan horse for socialism"). The time Trump spends speaking about and construing Biden as a threat is particularly notable when compared to Biden's speech, which references Trump about half as much (not controlling for length) and never mentions him by name. Trump also provides a much more detailed account of the threat that Biden represents (linking him to specific and pre-established forms of danger), as opposed to the vague "darkness" that Trump represents in Biden's speech. Biden then poses the most direct threat to the American people, representing the potential unleashing of a multitude of malignant forces, which, until this point, Trump has deterred. By framing the 2020 election as the final stand against these looming dangers, Trump raises the saliency of out-group threat and provides a clear action (supporting Trump) to protect one's in-group.[74]

In this way, as Trump rhetorically constructs this plethora of threats, he simultaneously works to present himself as a guardian of the "law-abiding" and "decent" American citizens, who value the United States as it currently exists and are content to abide by its law and social practices. Implicitly, he seems to suggest that these "real" Americans are Christian ("during the Democrat Convention, the words 'Under God' were removed from the Pledge of Allegiance...The fact is, this is where they are coming from"), and, by casting the heavily racialized criminal and immigrant subpopulations as oppositional to America, also implicitly suggests they are white. This racialization project remains *implicit* though (although tenuously so) because Trump does evoke minority populations (African Americans and Hispanic- Americans) more favorably, primarily as groups in need of his protection from a dangerous Democratic agenda ("Thousands more African-Americans are victims of violent crime in these communities Joe Biden and the left ignore…"). He also references two Black law enforcement officials (Miosotis Familia and David Dorn) who were killed by anti-police protestors, muddling the liberal argument that law enforcement and the Black community are fundamentally in conflict through anecdotal means. Here, Trump avoids overt racism by differentiating "bad" minorities (the "rioters" and "criminals") and "good" minorities (those that unquestionably accept the current American order, especially law enforcement, and by extension, are aligned with Trump himself), and in doing so, again construes the left's racial justice demands as illegitimate.

This rhetorical use of "good" African Americans is just one example of how Trump politicizes what it means to be a "true" American as one who is loyal to current American institutions. Simply put, to be a "good" American, in Trump's rhetorical framework, is to love America. Trump frames patriotism as the key to building national unity ("We will rekindle... a new spirit of unity that can ONLY be realized through love for our country"), but also as an

enduring source of strength for Americans across history when faced with adversity; "What united generations past was an unshakable confidence in America's destiny, and an unbreakable faith in the American People...It is that conviction that inspired the formation of our union, our westward expansion, the abolition of slavery, the passage of civil rights, the space program, and the overthrow of fascism, tyranny and communism." Under this construction of American identity, the out-group status of Democrats is again reinforced, because they do not love their nation; "How can the Democrat Party ask to lead our country when it spends so much time tearing down our country?... they do not see America as the most free, just, and exceptional nation on earth. Instead, they see a wicked nation that must be punished for its sins." The premium Trump places on American patriotism also fits clearly into historically dominant practices of American exceptionalism and raises the moral status of Americans above all other foreign entities – as opposed to Biden, who unfavorably compares the United States to the countries which have surpassed it in their COVID-19 response ("It's not this bad...almost anywhere else in the world" [Biden, 2020]).[75]

Trump is also responding directly in the above quote to Biden's rhetorical use of religion in his DNC speech, and rhetorically reverses his religious metaphor. While Biden frames the nation as a historical being seeking salvation for its past sins (a redemption that he as a leader can provide), Trump frames America as itself an immortal, quasi-divine source of moral strength, providing guidance for various mythical American figures (Trump names Presidents Jefferson, Lincoln, and Franklin D. Roosevelt, among several others) as they met the challenges of history. The abstract "America" is then not in need of redemption from mortal actors but is itself a quasi-religious guiding light. Biden's rhetorical positioning of himself as a redemptive figure then becomes almost sacrilegious; "in this country, we don't look to career politicians for salvation.... Joe Biden is not the savior of America's soul." In Trump's rhetorical project, America is not in need of moral redemption, but of *moral protection* from a variety of evil forces. From a social identity theory perspective, this construction of America is useful in bolstering in-group solidarity; we are more likely to identify highly with our in-group if we perceive them as morally *good*.[76]

Throughout his entire speech, then, Trump constructs a heavily partisan framework of what it means to be American. He builds an extensive and multidimensional dichotomy of *who* is American (law-abiding, patriotic, implicitly Christian, implicitly white citizens) and who is not (implicitly non-white, immigrants, amoral "criminals and anarchists," and non-patriotic liberals) – framing himself as an exemplar and protectorate of the former, and all his dissenters (and Biden in particular) as proponents of their demise. As opposed to Biden who frames national identity as above partisan division, Trump's notion of who is "American" and who is a threat to it is thus drawn directly along party lines, constructing the national boundary around "law-abiding," "decent," and "obedient" Republican voters and situating liberals as an external threat. Even his calls for national unity are predicated on the *assimilation* of Democrats and Independents into a more ideologically correct form of patriotism; "The Republican Party...goes forward united, determined, and ready to welcome millions of Democrats, Independents, and anyone who believes in the GREATNESS of America." In other words, Trump rhetorically brings national identity into alignment with a set of other identities (racial, religious, and partisan), which have already become increasingly associated with one another in this age of extreme polarization through a "social sorting" process.[77] Groups which many of Trump's viewers may already feel at odds with (dissident minorities, immigrants, liberals in general) are thus presented as a threat across multiple dimensions of group identity (not only as a *partisan* threat but as a *national* one as well), which is likely to tighten in-group solidarity and heighten out-group hostility even further.[78]

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This rhetorically powerful reduction of the national in-group and out-group is further intensified by Trump's more straightforward account of America's moral worth. While Biden speaks of America's *potential* to become morally worthy once its practices and institutions come into alignment with its proclaimed values (drawing nuanced distinctions between American values, American history and American contemporary values), Trump provides a cohesive, historically continuous narrative of America's moral worth as an eternal "torch that enlightens the world," connecting the historical figures who have exemplified its values to the "decent" contemporary American public–and himself. Like Biden, Trump also relates himself to past American leaders, but instead of referencing a specific political moment (Franklin Roosevelt's leadership in the Great Depression), Trump frames himself as the inheritor of a much more generalized and longer history of Americans (Teddy Roosevelt, Andrew Jackson, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, Ulysses Grant, Dwight Eisenhower, *and* Franklin Roosevelt) who persevered and protected the sanctity of the country in the face of adversity; "Like those brave Americans before us, we are meeting this challenge." The common link between them, in Trump's words, is again, an enduring love of country, the "towering American spirit [which] has prevailed over every challenge." In facing contemporary political threats, then, Trump presents a strong case for optimism in America's eventual victory over forces of evil, one which rests in a rich historical legacy (as opposed to Biden, whose optimistic vision for America's eventual redemption takes place in an uncharted future).

This evocation of the enduring role of American perseverance is intensified by Trump's outright appeals to essentialist visions of America as an ancestral descendancy – a form of nationalism linked to increased identity fusion and out-group hostility.[79] Trump repeatedly uses familial language to describe the national community, speaking of "our nation and its children," "our American ancestors," and describing the U.S. as "one national family." The history of "American Ancestors" that Trump most strongly evokes is one of settler-colonialism, referencing the age of "pioneers" more frequently than any other historical epoch (8 times). America is then, at its core, a "nation of pilgrims, pioneers, adventurers, explorers and trailblazers who refused to be tied down, held back, or reined in." In glorifying America's colonialist past, Trump evokes long-standing Manifest Destiny narratives, which have historically grounded the American exceptionalist self-conception.[80] This obviously has potent racial implications; the history that Trump extols is one of indigenous genocide, religious conversion and slavery, a history only white Americans could see themselves descended from or draw pride from.[81]

In considering how each speech may be received through a social identity theory lens, Trump's narrative construction of America would then seem to speak to compounded sources of social identity (national, racial, *and* partisan) when compared to Biden's. Trump's narrative style also seems particularly likely to mobilize supporters through its frequent evocations of out-group threats, conflating racial, national, *and* partisan outsiders into a single source of danger – and framing Trump's reelection as paramount to the in-group's protection. In other words, Trump frames support for his candidacy as a normative American in-group behavior; and, because his construction of the American in-group is so clearly delineated and cohesive with *other* salient forms of social identity (especially race and partisanship), he quite effectively utilizes national identity constructions for his political benefit.

Conclusion

In this investigation, I set out to examine how Republican political elites rhetorically appeal to national identity in the current political moment, where both the meaning and the value of "being

American" has become increasingly polarized and contentious.[82] Because of longstanding associations between whiteness and American identity – an association that has become increasingly overt in this era of heightened globalism and racial reckoning – and the racial homogeneity of the Republican party, I predicted that Republican presidential candidates would be more likely to evoke national narratives which appeal to both national and white racial identities.[83] I employed both "thin" and "thick" narrative analysis techniques to assess the nature and strength of each party's appeals to national identity and found that the Republican candidates were indeed more likely to evoke themes of ancestral and historical continuity and racial homogeneity in their political narratives than Democratic candidates. More specifically, Republicans were significantly more likely than Democrats to reference traditional national symbols more frequently than racial diversity; more likely to frame non-white populations as out-group threats; and (at least in the case study of 2020 presidential convention speeches), were more likely to use temporally rich and socially essentialist narratives of American history. Overall, it appears that the rhetoric of Republican politicians in this sample both reflects and could in fact work to exacerbate national identity's contemporary associations with whiteness, as well as its increasingly partisan connotations.[84]

To say with certainty how much the alignment of national identity with Republican identity matters is impossible from just the findings of this project – which itself could be considerably expanded upon. To gain a more comprehensive sense of the partisan relationship to national identity on a "thin" level, the sample size could have been increased and the scale of inquiry could have been expanded beyond the 2016 and 2020, to account for discrepancies in the sample sizes (which accounted for two electoral cycles for Democrats, but only one for Republicans) -- as well as to better gauge exactly how much partisan discrepancies in national narratives have shifted between the elections. More controls also could have been added to account for the race and gender (factors that have been shown to alter public perception of politicians) of the speakers in question.[85] Perhaps most crucially, to understand exactly how these social identity appeals from political elites are received by the public, future investigations that directly examine voter responses are needed; such investigations would also help capture the effect of non-quantifiable elements (like the rhetorical gravitas of the speaker) that are central to narrative analysis and cannot be adequately captured by this analysis of written transcripts.[86] Findings from this investigation would also be well complemented by research on the relative saliency of national identity when compared to other social identity categories and by updated research on the extent to which the public now associates national identity with racial identities (i.e., updating studies such as those from Dach-Grushow and Hong [2006] and Devos and Banaji [2005] for the post-Trump era).

That being said -- to the extent that the alignment of national identity with white racial and – by extension – Republican identities found in this investigation of political elite speech points to a larger change, there are several important implications to consider. First, as findings in social identity theory would suggest, the growing alignment of multiple social identities on the right lends a powerful advantage to the Republican elite's capacity to mobilize their base. As Mason and Wronski write, "the convergence of social identities along partisan lines makes in-party preference [ever] more powerful."[87] That is, the layering of multiple social identities (especially in this era in which partisan, racial, and national identities are all extremely salient) leads to more extreme adherence to the norms of one's in-group.[88] As such, it may be significantly easier for Republican elites to mobilize their base (to vote or to participate in other political projects) through social identity appeals than it is for Democrats – whose comparatively diverse base prevents them from capitalizing on multi-layered social identity appeals to the same degree.

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This phenomenon may also have important implications for broader trends of polarization and democratic stability. Along with increasing adherence in-group norms and behaviors, the increasingly overt alignment of national identity with partisan and racial identities could likewise function to increase out-group hostility, taking current processes of polarization to new extremes. Republicans may come to perceive Democrats as an even more serious "out-group" threat, one external to the borders of even the broadest common in-group, provoking even greater political hostility than is currently being seen today. The legitimacy of left-wing politicians may be increasingly undermined by right-wing perceptions of Democrats as *foreign* -- perhaps generating greater skepticism about the integrity of democratic institutions, as was seen following the 2020 presidential election. Taken to its far extremes, if national identity is no longer perceived as a non-partisan basis for shared interests and solidarity, democratic function could become infeasible altogether.[89]

Such a possibility is predicated on the globalist-nationalist feedback loop discussed above. The more national identity is conflated with partisan and white racial identity, the more disenchanted the left is likely to feel with it; and the more the left avoids evoking national identity, the more prominent ethnocentric conceptions of the nation become (Lepore, 2019). This not only has serious implications for democratic function in a multicultural (and currently deeply polarized) state, but for the interpersonal and systemic treatment of racial and religious minorities, immigrants, and foreigners. If the distinction between civically based patriotism and white nationalism becomes gradually obscured, normative in-group behaviors associated with American national identity (formally non-partisan and civically determined, such as voting) may be replaced by more partisan, nativistic and overtly racially hostile behaviors.[90] In other words, racist intolerant behavior may gain renewed legitimacy if white nationalist conceptions of what it means to be an "American" gain dominance.

Democratic national narratives thus serve important purposes that should not be hastily disregarded. While evoking a sense of national pride and narrativizing a common history will always be a more complex project for Democrats -- and one that will always stand in some degree of tension with globalist liberal values -- ignoring the psychological predisposition toward in-group favoritism will not make it go away.[91] For better and worse, as long as the "nation" exists, at least some portion of the American electorate will feel drawn to it as a source of group belonging and purpose; but whether there exists an alternative to ethnocentric and outwardly hostile forms of national identity is not necessarily a given.[92] Democratic national narratives can then serve an important democratic function, holding the potential to decouple white and national identity and challenge the rising legitimacy of white nationalist rhetoric.

Democrats also may have a political interest in continuing to produce compelling, inclusive national narratives. Collectively oriented, redistributive political projects (especially the large-scale, progressive proposals which have been centered in the Biden era) become much more politically feasible where national solidarity exists, where people feel the obligations and altruism associated with in-group identification.[93] And although Democrats may have a more complex relationship with national identity (because of the greater identity cross-pressures intrinsic to their coalition), they are not necessarily inhibited from producing compelling national narratives (such as Barack Obama's compelling narratives which center the quest for social justice and racial unity in the American story), given the ever-fluctuating nature of national identity-construction.[94] While Republicans have been advantaged in large part from adhering to a historically dominant national narrative that centers whiteness and ancestral continuity, such a narrative is not predestined to

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remain dominant forever. National identity is malleable and arises historically and national narrative remains a particularly promising site for reshaping its meaning.[95]

If anything, now — in this moment of contention over American history and values, with rapid demographic change and racial upheaval — there may be an unprecedented opportunity to center a new national narrative, to recalibrate civically derived national norms and standards of belonging. As debates over Critical Race Theory in public schools have illustrated, dominant national-historical narratives, which adhere to Manifest Destiny rhetorical traditions and smooth over America's troubled racial history, are becoming existentially challenged as they begin to ring false for growing segments of the American public.[96] With the proper utilization of narrative, the American self-conception could be fundamentally transformed, deriving ulterior forms of pride and purpose by incorporating new perspectives and characters into the national story – finding coherency in our multiracial national identity by confronting racial trauma, rather than smoothing it over.[97] The key to ultimately overcoming white nationalism may not lie in renouncing the idea of the nation altogether, but rather in the process of reimagining it.

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Appendices

The appendices for this paper can be found in the individual page for this paper.

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Endnotes

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Appendix 1: Part One Findings -- All

Chart 1.1: Closing Statement Findings (with individual relative narrativity, Racial Neutral, Racial Negative and Nationalist Symbol Results)

Name:	Party:	Year	Debate	FIle Name	Relative Narrativity	Racial Neutral	Racial Negative	Nationalist Symbols
Micheal Bennet	D	2020	1st debate	bennet1	0.1097560976	1.22	0	0
	D		2nd debate	bennet2	0.08163265306	0.4	0	0.41
Joe Biden	D	2020	1st debate	biden1	0.03773584906	0.62	0	1.27
	D		2nd debate	biden2	0.03608247423	0	0	0
*Micheal Bloomberg	D	2020	9th debate	bloomberg9	0	0	0	0
Cory Booker	D	2020	1st debate	booker1	0.07960199005	1.5	0	0
	D		4th debate	booker2	0.06951871658	0.27	0	0
Steve Bullock	D	2020	2nd debate	bullock2	0.07368421053	0	0	0
Pete Buttigieg	D	2020	1st debate	buttigieg1	0.1220930233	0.58	0	0
	D		2nd debate	buttigieg2	0.08583690987	0.43	0	0
Julián Castro	D	2020	1st debate	castro1	0.07638888889	1.39	0	0
	D		2nd debate	castro2	0.09944751381	0	0	0
Lincoln Chaffee	D	2016	1st debate	chaffee1	0.05084745763	0.85	0	0
Hillary Clinton	D	2016	1st debate	clinton1	0.05118110236	0	0	0.39
	D		2nd debate	clinton2	0.0350877193	0	0	0
De Blasio	D	2020	1st debate	deblasio1	0.06896551724	1.5	0	0
	D		2nd debate	deblasio2	0.02030456853	0	0	0.5
John Delaney	D	2020	1st debate	delaney1	0.08496732026	0.64	0	0.65
	D		2nd debate	delaney2	0.03825136612	0	0	0
Tulsi Gabbard	D	2020	1st debate	gabbard1	0.1643835616	1.36	0	1.38
	D		2nd debate	gabbard2	0.02290076336	0	0	0
Kristen Gillibrand	D	2020	1st debate	gillibrand1	0.07558139535	0	0	0
	D		2nd debate	gillibrand2	0.05063291139	0.42	0	0.42

Name	Party	Year	Debate	ID	Value	A	B	C
Kamala Harris	D	2020	1st debate	harris1	0.0393258427	0	0	0
	D		2nd debate	harris2	0.04970760234	0.29	0.29	0.29
John Hickenlooper	D	2020	1st debate	hickenlooper1	0.08510638298	0.69	0	0
	D		2nd debate	hickenlooper2	0.05524861878	0.55	0	0
Jay Inslee	D	2020	1st debate	inslee1	0.1118421053	0	0	0
	D		2nd debate	inslee2	0.05019305019	0	0	0
Amy Klobouchar	D	2020	1st debate	klobouchar1	0.06857142857	0.57	0	0
	D		2nd debate	klobouchar2	0.07142857143	0	0	0
Martin O'Malley	D	2016	1st debate	o'malley1	0.04924242424	0.76	0	0
	D		2nd debate	o'malley2	0.02764976959	0	0	0
Beto O'Rourke	D	2020	1st debate	o'rourke1	0.08982035928	0	0	0
	D		2nd debate	o'rourke2	0.06086956522	0.43	0	0
Tim Ryan	D	2020	1st debate	ryan1	0.02614379085	1.31	0	0
	D		2nd debate	ryan2	0.04972375691	0	0	0
Bernie Sanders	D	2016	1st debate	sanders20161	0.005154639175	0	0	0
	D		2nd debate	sanders20162	0.02739726027	0.35	0	0
Bernie Sanders	D	2020	1st Debate	sanders20201	0.04316546763	0	0	0
	D	2020	4th debate	sanders20204	0.04225352113	0	0	0
*Tom Steyer	D	2020	8th debate	steyer8	0.05319148936	0	0	1.62
Eric Swalwell	D	2020	1st debate	swalwell1	0.04347826087	0	0	0
Elizabeth Warren	D	2020	1st debate	warren1	0.08988764045	0	0	0
	D		2nd debate	warren2	0.05263157895	0.38	0	0
Jim Webb	D	2016	1st debate	webb1	0.04128440367	0.46	0.92	0.46
Marianne Williamson	D	2020	1st debate	williamson1	0.07142857143	0	0	0.7
	D		2nd debate	williamson2	0.01449275362	0.57	0	0
Andrew Yang	D	2020	1st debate	yang1	0.03846153846	0	0	0

	D		2nd debate	yang2	0.03211009174	0	0	0
Jeb Bush	R	2016	1st debate	bush1	0.04827586207	0	0	0
	R		2nd debate	bush2	0.06923076923	0	0	0
	R		3rd debate	bush3	0.075	0	0	0
Ben Carson	R	2016	1st debate	carson1	0.05737704918	0	0	0
	R		2nd debate	carson2	0.03846153846	0	0	0.48
	R		3rd debate	carson3	0.02803738318	0	0	0
Chris Christie	R	2016	1st debate	christie1	0.09316770186	0	0.62	0
	R		2nd debate	christie1	0.1034482759	0	0	0
	R		3rd debate	christie3	0.01449275362	0	0	0
Ted Cruz	R	2016	1st debate	cruz1	0.1	0	0.78	0
	R		2nd debate	cruz2	0.0972972973	0	1.09	0.54
	R		3rd debate	cruz3	0.08888888889	0	0	0
Carly Fiorina	R	2016	2nd debate	fiorina2	0.02164502165	0	0	2.19
	R		3rd debate	fiorina3	0.06024096386	0	0	1.23
	R		4th debate	fiorina4	0.0802919708	0	0	0
Jim Gilmore	R	2016	1st debate	gilmore1	0.04605263158	0	0	0
Lindsay Graham	R	2016	2nd debate	graham2	0.04017857143	0	0.44	0
	R		3rd debate	graham3	0.072	0	0	0
Mike Huckabee	R	2016	1st debate	huckabee1	0.0306122449	0	0	0
	R		2nd debate	huckabee2	0.135678392	0	0	0
	R		3rd debate	huckabee3	0.0289017341	0	0	0
Bobby Jindal	R	2016	2nd debate	jindal2	0.02766798419	0.39	0	0.79
	R		3rd debate	jindal3	0.01538461538	0	0	0.78
	R		4th debate	jindal4	0.02247191011	0	0	0.56
John Kasich	R	2016	1st debate	kasich1	0.075	0	0	0

	R		2nd debate	kasich2	0.07981220657	0	0	0
	R		3rd debate	kasich3	0.02597402597	0	0	0.65
George Pataki	R	2016	2nd debate	pataki2	0.06818181818	0.38	0	0.38
	R		3rd debate	pataki3	0.04054054054	0	0	0
Rand Paul	R	2016	1st debate	paul1	0.08510638298	0	0	0
	R		2nd debate	paul2	0.07608695652	0	0	0
	R		3rd debate	paul3	0.01941747573	0	0	0
Marco Rubio	R	2016	1st debate	rubio1	0.1005586592	0	0	1.13
	R		2nd debate	rubio2	0.1054852321	0	0	0
	R		3rd debate	rubio3	0.07692307692	0	0	1.3
Rick Santorum	R	2016	2nd debate	santorum2	0.0977443609	0	0	0
	R		3rd debate	santorum3	0.07518796992	0	0	0
	R		4th debate	santorum4	0.01333333333	0	0	0
Donald Trump	R	2016	1st debate	trump1	0.02409638554	1.2	0	0
	R		2nd debate	trump2	0.09090909091	0	0	0
	R		3rd debate	trump3	0.009615384615	0	0	0
Scott Walker	R	2016	1st debate	walker1	0.1444444444	0	0	0
	R		2nd debate	walker2	0.09398496241	0	0.37	0.75
				DEM AVG:	**0.05744768158**	**0.3316666667**	**0.02520833333**	**0.1651020408**
				GOP AVG:	**0.06272571782**	**0.04581395349**	**0.07674418605**	**0.2388095238**
				p-value	**0.538092243**	**0.0001250213203**	**0.1784904168**	**0.3189875919**

Chart 1.2: Statistical Significance within Party Narrative Elements

	National Symbols vs. Racial Negative	National Symbols vs. Racial Neutral	Racial Negative vs. Racial Neutral
GOP:	0.2487027816	0.01171799261	0.0728559942
Dems:	0.01579891075	0.0268313427	0.000006154125118

Appendix 2: Democratic Closing Statements – Temporal Coding[1]

Relative Narrative Coding:
<mark style="background:cyan">Blue</mark> <mark style="background:cyan">Highlight</mark> = distant past
Bold = past experience
<u>Underline</u> = near future
<mark style="background:yellow">Yellow highlight</mark> = distant future

Michael Bennet:

First Debate: Night Two, June 27th 2019, Miami, FL. Transcript by ASC Services on behalf of BGOV.

Thank you. Thank you. My mom and her parents <mark style="background:cyan">came to</mark> the United States <mark style="background:cyan">to rebuild</mark> their shattered lives, in the only country that they could. <mark style="background:cyan">Three hundred years</mark> before that, my parents' family <mark style="background:yellow">came</mark> searching religious freedom here.
The ability <mark style="background:yellow">for one generation</mark> to do better than the next is now severely at risk in the United States, especially among children living in poverty like the ones **I used to work** for in the Denver public schools. That's why I'm running for president.
I've had two tough races in Colorado, but **by bringing** people together, not **by makin**g empty promises. And I believe we need <u>to build a broad coalition</u> of Americans to beat Donald Trump, <u>end the corruption</u> in Washington, and build <mark style="background:yellow">a new era</mark> of American democracy and American opportunity.
This is going to be hard to do, but it's what o**ur parents would have expected,** it's <u>what our kids deserve.</u> I hope you join me in this effort. Thank you.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 4
Past experiences: 5
Near Future: 3
Distant Future: 2

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[1] The following transcripts were used for analysis:

"First 2015 Democratic Primary Debate Transcript: Classic Debate Transcripts." 2015. *Rev*. https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/first-2015-democratic-primary-debate-transcript-classic-debate-transcripts.

"Full Transcript: Ninth Democratic Debate in Las Vegas." 2020. *NBC News*. https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2020-election/full-transcript-ninth-democratic-debate-las-vegas-n1139546.

"January Iowa Democratic Debate Transcript." 2020. *Rev*. https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/january-iowa-democratic-debate-transcript.

"Transcript of July Democratic Debate 2nd Round Night 1: Full Transcript July 30, 2019." 2019. .*Rev*. https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/transcript-of-july-democratic-debate-night-1-full-transcript-july-30-2019.

"Transcript of July Democratic Debate 2nd Round, Night 2: Full Transcript July 31, 2019." 2019 .*Rev*. https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/transcript-of-july-democratic-debate-2nd-round-night-2-full-transcript-july-31-2019.

"Transcript: The November Democratic Debate." 2019c.*Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/11/21/transcript-november-democratic-debate/.

Beckwith, Ryan Teague. 2015. "Transcript: Read the Full Text of the Second Democratic Debate." *Time*. https://time.com/4113434/transcript-read-the-full-text-of-the-second-democratic-debate/.

Kimelman, Jeremia. 2019a. "Full Transcript: 2019 Democratic Debate Night One, Sortable by Topic." *NBC News*. https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2020-election/full-transcript-first-democratic-primary-debate-2019-n1022816.

Kimelman, Jeremia. 2019b. "Full Transcript: 2019 Democratic Debate Night Two, Sortable by Topic." . https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2020-election/full-transcript-2019-democratic-debate-night-two-sortable-topic-n1023601.

Word Count: 164
RN Count: 18
RN: 0.1097560976

Second debate: Night One, July.30th, 2019. Detroit MI. Transcript by Rev.

Thank you. Thank you very much.

What I want to say to all of you tonight is, ==we have been here before== as a country. We ==have faced== challenges that we've -- we actually even forget some of us tonight ==how hard the people fough==t, how hard ==they work==ed, how hard t==hey organiz==ed, the v==otes they had to tak==e, the people th==ey had to get to the== polls to make this country more democratic, more fair, and more free.

And now we have a person in the White House who has no appreciation of ==that history==, who doesn't believe in the rule of law, who doesn't believe in the independence of the judiciary, who doesn't believe that climate change is real.

I think that we have an incredible opportunity in front of us, all of us, to come together ju==st as our parents and grandparent==s did before them, and face challenges even harder than the ones that we face, but the only way we're going to be able to do it is to put the divisive politics of Donald Trump behind us and the **divisive politics of the last 10 years b**ehind us.

We need to come together united against a broken Washington, make Donald Trump a one-term president, and begin to govern this country again for our kids and our grandkids who cannot do it for themselves. We have to do it for them.

Please join me at michaelbennet.com. Thanks for being here tonight.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 9
Past experiences:1
Near Future: 1
Distant Future:

Word Count: 245
RN Count: 20
RN: 0.08163265306

Joe Biden:

First Debate: Night Two, June 27th 2019, Miami, FL. Transcript provided by ASC Services on behalf of BGOV.

Thank you very much.   I'm ready to lead this country because I think it's important we restore the soul of this nation. This president **has ripped it out.** It's the only president in our history **who ha**s equated racists and white supremacists with ordinary and decent people. He's the only president **who ha**s, in fact, engaged and embraced dictators and **thumbed their** nose at our allies.
I'm, secondly, running for president because I think we have to restore the backbone of America, the poor and hardworking middle class people. You can't do that without replacing them with ==**the dignity they once** had.==
  Last thing, we've got to unite the United States of America, as much as anybody says we can't. **If we do**, there's not a single thing the American people can't do. This is the United States of America. We can do anything if we're together, together. So God bless you all and may God protect our troops.

Relative Narrativity:

Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 6
Near Future: 0
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 159
RN Count: 6
RN: 0.03773584906

Second Debate: Night Two, July 31st, 2019. Detroit, MI. Transcript by Rev.

Thank you. Thank you very much. And thank you Mr. Mayor for Detroit hosting this. Look, I've said it many times and I think everyone agrees with this. We're in a battle for the soul of America. This is the most consequential election any one of you no matter how old or young you are has ever, ever participate in. Four more years of Donald Trump will go down as an aberration. Hard to overcome the damage he's done, but we can overcome it. Eight more years of Donald Trump will change America in a fundamental way. The America we know will no longer exist. Everybody knows who Donald Trump is. We have to let them know who we are. We choose science over fiction. We choose hope over fear. We choose unity over division. And we choose. We choose the idea that we can as Americans, when we act together, do anything. This is the United States of America. We've acted together. We have never, never, never been unable to overcome whatever the problem was. If you agree with me, go to Joe30330 and help me in this fight. Thank you very much.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past 2
Past experiences:
Near Future: 3
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 194
RN Count: 7
RN: 0.03608247423

Michael Bloomberg:

Ninth Debate: Febuary 19th, 2020. Las Vegas NV. Transcript provided by ASC Services on behalf of BGOV.

Look, this is a management job, and Donald Trump's not a manager. This is a job where you have to build teams. He doesn't have a team so he goes and makes decisions without knowing what's going on or the implications of what he does. We cannot run the railroad this way.
This country has to pull together and understand that the people that we elect -- and it's not just the president of the United States -- they should have experience, they should have credentials, they should understand what they're doing and the implications thereof.
And then we should as a society try to hold them accountable so the next time they go before the voters, if they haven't done the job, we shouldn't just say, oh, nice person, gives a good speech. We should say, didn't do the job and you're out of here.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 0
Near Future: 0
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 146
RN Count: 0

RN: 0

Cory Booker:

First debate: Night One, June 26th 2019, Miami, FL. Transcript by ASC Services on behalf of BGOV.

Gracias. Fifty years ago this month, my family moved into the town I grew up in because after being denied a house because of the color of their skin, it was activists, mostly white activists, that stood up and fought for them. That's the best of who we are as America and **why when I got out of law school**, I **moved** into the inner city of Newark to fight as a tenant lawyer for other people's rights.
I've taken on bullies and **beat the**m. **I've taken on** tough fights and **we've won.** And we win those fights not by showing the worst of who we are, by rising to who's best.
Donald Trump wants us to fight him on his turf and his terms. We will beat him, I will beat him by calling this country to a sense of common purpose again. This is a referendum on him and getting rid of him, but it's also a referendum on us, who we are, and who we must be to each other.
It's time we win this election. And the way I'll govern is by showing the best of who we are because that's what this country needs and deserves.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 4
Past experiences: 6
Near Future: 2
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 201
RN Count: 16
RN: 0.07960199005

Fourth debate: October 15, 2019. Westerville Ohio. Transcript by the Washington Post.

Thank you, Rachel. It's an honor to be here tonight.

I have not yet qualified for the December stage and need your help to do that. If you believe in my voice and that I should be up here, please go to corybooker.com. Please help.

I had a closing statement prepared, but I saw in the audience during the break a man named John Lewis. And perhaps it's interesting and important for me to mention why I'm so grateful to him.

I've been calling in this whole election for our need to fight and fight the right way, by bringing people together to create transformative change, not just beat Donald Trump. That's the floor. We need to go to the ceiling. We need to go to the mountaintop.

I am literally here on this stage right now because 50 years ago there was a lawyer on a couch who changed his life, changed his mind to get up and start representing families, one of them mine, who were discriminated against. The hou**se I grew up i**n is because of that lawyer's activity.

When I asked him why, why **he did what he did,** he **told me** that on March 7, 1965, he was watching a movie called "Judgment at Nuremberg" on TV and they interrupted that movie to show a bridge in Alabama called the Edmund Pettus Bridge. And there he saw John Lewis and other marchers who were beaten viciously by Alabama state troopers.

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We all owe a debt that we cannot repay. We all drink deeply from wells of freedom and liberty that we did not dig. This is the moment in America where we need a leader that can inspire us to get up and fight again, that we have truly a moral moment in America, like it was back in 1965.

If you give me a chance to lead, I will cause what John Lewis says is good trouble. I will challenge us. I will ask more from you than any other president has ever asked before, because we need to mobilize a new American movement. Keep me on this stage. Keep me **on** this race. It is time we fight and fight together. Please go to corybooker.com.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 9
Past experiences: 5
Near Future: 3
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 374
RN Count: 26
RN: 0.06951871658

Steve Bullock:

Second Debate: Night One, July.30th, 2019. Detroit MI. Transcript by Rev.

I was raised in a single-parent household, at times paycheck to paycheck. **Only knew** there **was a** governor's house in town because **I delivered n**ewspapers to it, so **I've made it** about four blocks in life. **Worked** my way through college, **paid** my way through law school.

But, you know, **I had a chance** to actually go from **delivering newspapers** to the governor's house as a kid to now raising our three kids in it. We **got to** recognize for far too many people now in America that shot no longer exists. And for far too many in this country, it never has.

I'm running for president to beat Donald Trump, win back the places we lost, and make sure that Americans know that where Washington **has left them** behind in the economy, in the political system, I'll be there.

This isn't a choice just between center and left or about -- we don't have to choose between what we don't want and what we can't afford. Folks want a different way. They want to believe the economy and our democracy can work for us. That's why I'm running for president.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 1
Past experiences:10
Near Future: 2
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 190
RN Count: 14
RN: 0.07368421053

Pete Buttigieg:

First Debate: Night Two, June 27th 2019, Miami, FL. Transcript by ASC Services on behalf of BGOV.

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Nothing about politics is theoretical for me. **I've had the** experience of writing a letter to my family, **putting** it in an envelope marked "just in case," and **leaving it** where they would know where to find it in case I didn't come back from Afghanistan. **I've experienced** being in a marriage that exists by the grace of a single vote on the U.S. Supreme Court. And **I have the experience** of guiding a community where the per capita income was below $20,000 w**hen I took office** into a brighter future. I'm running because the decisions we make in the next three or four years are going to decide how the next 30 or 40 go. And when I get to the current age of the current president in the year 2055, I want to be able to look back on these years and say my generation delivered climate solutions, racial equality, and an end to endless war. Help me deliver that new generation to Washington before it's too late.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past:0
Past experiences: 6
Near Future: 5
Distant Future: 5

Word Count: 172
RN Count: 21
RN: 0.1220930233

Second Debate: Night One, July 30th, 2019. Detroit, MI. (Transcript by Rev).

There's good news and bad news. I'm going to start with the bad news. Our country is in trouble. GDP is going up and life expectancy is going down. Think about what that means. And it's only getting tougher.
By 2030, we will have passed the point of no return on climate, there are going to be 130 million more guns on our streets. I'll be in my forties then. If you have kids, think about how old they will be then.
But here's the good news: It's not too late. We can tell our kids that before we ran out of time, just before we ran out of time, in 2020, we did what it took to deliver a climate that we didn't have to wonder if it could support us, to deliver a society where race has no bearing on your health or your wealth or your relationship with law enforcement, that we did what it took to deliver an economy where a rising tide actually does lift all boats.
We can do this, if and only if we are ready to walk away from **what hasn't worke**d with bold action and win, not only defeat this president, but defeat his congressional allies with a defeat so big that it reunites the Republican Party with its conscience as well as bringing Democrats to office.
Join me, and let's make it happen.

Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 1
Near Future: 7
Distant Future: 6

Word Count: 233
RN Count: 20
RN: 0.08583690987

Julian Castro:

First debate: Night One, June 26th 2019, Miami, FL. Transcript by ASC Services on behalf of BGOV.

Me llamo Julian Castro, y estoy postolando por presidente de los Estados Unidos.
The very fact that I can say that tonight shows the progress that we have made in this country. Like many of you, I know the promise of America. My grandmother came here when she was 7 years old as an immigrant from Mexico, and just two generations later, one of her grandsons is serving in the United States Congress and the other one is running for president of the United States.

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If I'm elected president, <u>I will work hard</u> every single day so that you and <u>your family can get good</u> health care, your child <u>can get a good education</u>, and that <u>you can have</u> good job opportunities, whether you live in a big city or a small town. And on January 20, 2021, <u>we'll say adios</u> to Donald Trump.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 3
Past experiences: 0
Near Future: 5
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 144
RN Count: 11
RN: 0.07638888889

Second Debate: Night Two, July 31st, 2019. Detroit, MI. (Transcript by Rev).

Well, first of all, let me say thank you to you, Jake, Dana, and to Don, and to everybody here and to those watching.

You know, this election is all about what kind of nation <u>we're going to become</u>. You and I, we stand on the shoulders of folks who have made beds and made sacrifices, people that fought in wars and fought discrimination, folks that picked crops and stood in picket lines, and they helped build the wonderful nation that we live in today.

Donald Trump **has not been** bashful in his cruelty. And I'm not going to be bashful in my common sense and compassion. I believe that we need leadership that understands that <u>we need to move forward</u> as one nation, with one destiny.

<u>Our destiny in the years to come</u> is to be the smartest, the healthiest, the fairest and the most prosperous nation on Earth.

If you want to help me build that America for the future, I hope you'll go to juliancastro.com. And on January 20th, 20<u>21, we'll say together</u>, "Adios to Donald Trump."

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 7
Past experiences: 1
Near Future: 3
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 181
RN Count: 18
RN: 0.07638888889

Lincoln Chaffee:

First Debate: October 13, 2015. Las Vegas, Nevada. Transcript by Rev.

Thank you, Anderson. Thank you, CNN. And thank you, Facebook, for sponsoring this debate. America has many challenges confronting us, ending the perpetual wars, addressing climate change, addressing income inequality, funding education, funding infrastructure, funding healthcare, helping black Americans, helping Native Americans. We have many challenges. Who's best able to confront these challenges?

I've **served in** government at many levels. I know what it's like to solve problems at the local level because **I did it** as mayor. I know how to get legislation passed through Congress because **I did it as** a senator. I know how to turn around a state because **I did it as governor of Rhode Isl**and. But what I'm most proud of is that in 30 years of public service, **I have had no scandals.** I have high ethical standards. And what I'm most proud of is my judgment,

particularly **in the Iraq war vote.** There **was a lot of** pressure, political pressure, public pressure. But **I did my hom**ework and **I did not believe** that the evidence was there that Saddam **Hussein had we**apons of mass destruction. And we live now with the consequences.

So that kind of judgment is what we want in <u>a president going forward</u>. And I'm running for president to <u>end the wars. I</u> want to be the peacemaker. I am a proven peacemaker. Please go to Chafee 2016 to learn more about me. Thank you.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 10
Near Future: 2
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 236
RN Count: 12
RN: 0.05084745763

Hillary Clinton:

First Debate: October 13, 2015. Las Vegas, NV. Transcript by Rev.

Thank you very much, Anderson. And thanks to all the viewers who tuned in tonight. I think what you did see is that, in this debate, we tried to deal with some of the very tough issues facing our country. That's in stark contrast to the Republicans who are currently running for president. What you have to ask yourself is, "Who amongst us has the vision for actually making the changes <u>that are going to improve</u> the lives of the American people? Who has the tenacity and the ability and the proven track record <u>of getting that</u> done?"

Now, I revere my late mother, and **she gave me a lot of good advice.** But one of the best pieces of advice **she gave me was,** you know, the issue is not whether or not you get knocked down, it's whether you get back up. **America's been knocked down. That Great Recession,** 9 million people **lost their** jobs, 5 million **lost their** homes, $13 trillion dollars in wealth **disappeared.** And although we've made progress, we're standing but not running the way America needs to.

My mission as president <u>will be to</u> raise incomes for hard-working middle-class families and to make sure that <u>we get back to the</u> basic bargain **I was raised with**, if you work hard and you do your part, you should be able to get ahead and stay ahead. Please join me in this campaign. Please come and make it clear that <u>America's best days are still ahead.</u> Thank you very much.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 8
Near Future: 5
Distant Future: 0

RN Count: 13
Word Count: 254
RN: 0.05118110236

Second Debate: November 14th, 2015. Des Moines, IA. Transcript by Time.

Well, thank you very much to CBS and everyone here this evening for giving us another chance to appear before you. I've heard a lot about me in this debate, and I'm going to keep talking and thinking about all of you because ultimately, I think the president's job is to do everything possible, everything that she can do to lift up the people of this country.

Starting with our children and moving forward. **I've spent my entire life**, since **I started** as a young lawyer for the Children's Defense Fund, **trying to figure ou**t how we can even the odds for so many people in America, this great country of ours, who are behind, who don't have a chance.

And that's what I will do as your president. I will work my heart out. I need your help. All of you in Iowa, I need you to caucus for me. Please go to hillaryclinton.com and be part of making this country what we know it can and should be.

Relative Narrativity:

Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 3
Near Future: 3
Distant Future:0

RN Count: 6
Word Count: 171
RN: 0.0350877193

Bill DeBlasio:

First Debate: Night One, June 26th 2019, Miami, FL. Transcript by ASC Services on behalf of BGOV.

It matters. It matters in this fight for the heart and soul of our party that we nominate a candidate **who has** seen the face of poverty and **didn't just talk** about it, but **gave people** $15 minimum wage.

It matters that we nominate a candidate **who saw** the destruction wrought by a broken health care system and **gave** people universal health care. It matters that we choose someone **who saw the** wasted potential of our children denied pre-K and **gave it** to every single one of them for free.

These things really matter. And these are the things that **I've done** in New York and I want to do the same for this whole country, because putting working people first, it matters. We need to be that party again. Let's work together. With your help, we can put working people first again in America.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 8
Near Future: 2
Distant Future:

Word Count: 145
RN Count: 10
RN: 0.06896551724

Second debate: Night One, June 26th 2019, Miami, FL. Transcript by ASC Services on behalf of BGOV.

Thank you. For the last three years**, we've watched** Donald Trump pit working people against each other, black versus white, citizen versus immigrant. And why? So that the wealthy and the powerful he represents can hold the American dream hostage from everyone else.

We can't let them get away with it. If we're going to beat Donald Trump, this has to be a party that stands for something. This has to be the party of labor unions. This has to be the party of universal healthcare. This has to be the party that's not afraid to say out loud we're going to tax the hell out of the wealthy.

And when we do that, Donald Trump right on cue will call us socialists. Well, here's what I'll say to him. Donald, you're the real socialist. The problem is, it's socialism for the rich. We, here in this country, we don't have to take that anymore. We can fight back.

If you agree that we can stand up to Donald Trump and we can stand up to the wealthy, then go to taxthehell.com and join us, so we can build a country that puts working people first.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 1
Near Future: 3
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 197
RN Count: 4
RN: 0.02030456853

John Delaney:

First Debate: Night One, June 26th 2019, Miami, FL. Transcript by ASC Services on behalf of BGOV.

Together we are on a mission. We're on a mission to find the **America that's been lost**, lost through **infighting**, lost through **inaction**. We're so much better than this. We're a country that used to do things. We saved the world. We created the American dream for millions of people like myself, the grandson of immigrants, the son of a union electrician **who went on** to become a successful business leader and **create** thousands of jobs.
But **we did** these things with real solutions, not with impossible promises. And those are **the roots** that we have to get back to. I'm running for president to solve these problems, to build infrastructure, to fix our broken health care system, to invest in communities that have been left behind, to improve public education.

I just don't want to be your president to be your president.

I want to be your president to do the job.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 3
Past experiences: 7
Near Future: 0
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 153
RN Count: 13
RN: 0.08496732026

Second debate: Night One, July.30th, 2019. Detroit MI. Transcript by Rev.

John F. Kennedy famously said we should not seek the Republican answer, we should not seek the Democratic answer, we should seek the right answer. **He was righ**t when **he said i**t and he's right today, as well.

Donald Trump is the symptom of a disease. And the disease is divisiveness. And I'm the only one on the stage talking about curing that disease, which -- with big ideas like national service, by focusing on actually solving problems.

If we work together, we can fix health care and build infrastructure. We can invest in not just technology, but people and entrepreneurs, whether they be in Storm Lake, Iowa, or Detroit, Michigan, or Baltimore, Maryland. We can

fight climate change and reimagine our education system. But we have to do it with real solutions, not impossible promises.

Isn't it time we had a president who was a leader in both the private sector and in government, to lead us into the future? I promise, as president, I will restore vision, unity, and leadership, and decency to this country. And that's why I'm running for president.

Thank you.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 3
Near Future: 4
Distant Future:

Word Count: 183
RN Count: 7
RN: 0.03825136612

Tulsi Gabbard:

First Debate: Night One, June 26th 2019, Miami, FL. Transcript by ASC Services on behalf of BGOV.

Our nation was founded on the principles of service above self, people who fled kings, who literally prospered on the backs and the sacrifices of people, coming here to this country, instead putting in place a government that is of, by, and for the people.
But that's not what we have. Instead, we have a government that is of, by, and for the rich and powerful. This must end. As president, our White House -- our White House will be a beacon of light, providing hope and opportunity, ushering in a new century where every single person will be able to get the health care they need, where we will have clean air to breathe and clean water to drink, where we will have good-paying jobs and a new green economy. Join me in ushering in this new century with peace, prosperity, opportunity, and justice for all.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 6
Past experiences: 0
Near Future: 2
Distant Future: 5

Word Count: 146
RN Count: 24
RN: 0.1643835616

Second Debate: Night Two, July 31st, 2019. Detroit, MI. (Transcript by Rev).

Thank you. Donald Trump and warmongering politicians in Washington **have failed us**. They continue to escalate tensions with other nuclear-armed countries like Russia, and China, and North Korea, starting a new Cold War, pushing us closer and closer to the brink of nuclear catastrophe. Now as we stand here tonight, there are thousands of nuclear missiles pointed at us. And if we were to get an attack right here tonight, you would have 30 minutes, 30 minutes before we were hit.
And you would receive an alert like the one we received in Hawaii last year that would say incoming missile. Seek immediate shelter. This is not a drill. Seek immediate shelter. This is not a drill. And you would see as we did, as my loved ones in Hawaii did, there is no shelter. This is the warmongers hoax. There is no shelter. It's all a lie. As president, I will end this insanity because it doesn't have to be this way.

I will end these wasteful regime change wars. Work to end this new Cold War through the use of diplomacy to deescalate these tensions. And take the trillions of dollars that we've been wasting on these wars and on these weapons, and redirect those resources into serving the needs of our people right here at home. Things like healthcare for all, making sure everyone in this country has clean water to drink and clean air to breathe, investing in education, investing in our infrastructure. The needs are great. As your president, I will put your interests above all else.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 1
Near Future: 5
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 262
RN Count: 6

Kristen Gillibrand:

First Debate: Night Two, June 27th 2019, Miami, FL. Transcript by ASC Services on behalf of BGOV.

Women in America -- women in America are on fire. **We've marched, we've organized, we've run** for office, and **we've wo**n. But our rights are under attack like never before by President Trump and the Republicans who want to repeal Roe v. Wade, which is why **I went to the** front lines in Georgia to fight for them.
As president, I will take on the fights that no one else will. **I stood up** to the Pentagon and **repealed** "don't ask/don't tell." **I've stood** up to the banks and **voted against** the bailout twice. **I've stood u**p to Trump more than any other senator in the U.S. Senate. And I have the most comprehensive approach for getting money out of politics with publicly funded elections to deal with political corruption.
Now is not the time to play it safe. Now is not the time to be afraid of firsts. We need a president who will take on the big challenges, even if she stands alone. Join me in fighting for this.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 10
Near Future: 3
Distant Future:

Word Count: 172
RN Count: 13
RN: 0.07558139535

Second Debate: Night Two, July 31st, 2019. Detroit, MI. (Transcript by Rev).

Donald Trump **has really torn ap**art the moral fabric of this country, **dividing us on e**very racial line, every religious line, every socioeconomic line he can find.

I'm running for president because I want to help people, and I actually have the experience and the ability to do that. **I've brought** Congress together and actually **made a** difference in people's lives.

I also know how to beat Donald Trump. **He has broken** his promises to the American people. **I've taken** this fight directly to his backyard in Michigan and Ohio and in Pennsylvania, and I'll go to all the places in this country. I will fight for your family. It doesn't matter who you are, it doesn't matter where you live, it doesn't matter who you love. Because that's my responsibility.

An**d I've done th**is before. **I started out in a** 2-to-1 Republican district. **I won it** twice**. I've never lost** an election since. And I not only bring people together electorally, but also legislatively. I get things done.

So we need a president who's not afraid of the big challenges, of the big fights. There is no false choice. We don't need a liberal or progressive with big ideas or we don't need a moderate who can win back Trump-Obama voters. You need someone who can do both. And that's who I am.

Please go to kirstengillibrand.com so I can make the next debate stage.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 10
Near Future: 2
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 237
RN Count: 12
RN: 0.05063291139

Kamala Harris:

First Debate: Night Two, June 27th 2019, Miami, FL. Transcript by ASC Services on behalf of BGOV.

Thank you. Well, I just want to leave you with a couple of things. One, we need a nominee who has the ability to prosecute the case against four more years of Donald Trump, and I will do that.
Second, this election is about you. This is about your hopes and your dreams and your fears and what wakes you up at 3 o'clock in the morning. And that's why I have what I call a 3 a.m. agenda that is about everything from what we need to do to deliver health care to how you will be able to pay the bills by the end of the month.
And when I think about what our country needs, I promise you, I will be a president who leads with a sense of dignity, with honesty, speaking the truth, and giving the American family all that they need to get through the end of the month in a way that allows them to prosper. So I hope to earn your support, and please join us at kamalaharris.org.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 0
Near Future: 7
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 178
RN Count: 7
RN: 0.0393258427

Second Debate: Night Two, July 31st, 2019. Detroit, MI. (Transcript by Rev).

So in my background as Attorney General of California**, I took on** the big banks **who preyed on t**he homeowners, many of whom **lost their** homes and will never be able to buy another. **I've taken** on the for profit colleges **who preyed** on students, **put them ou**t of business. **I've preyed o**n transnational criminal organizations **that have preyed o**n women and children. And I will tell you, we have a predator living in the White House.
And I'm going to tell you something. Donald Trump has predatory nature and predatory instincts. And the thing about predators is this, by their very nature, they prey on people they perceive to be weak. They prey on people they perceive to be vulnerable. They prey on people who are in need of help, often desperate for help. And predators are cowards. What we need is someone who is going to be on that debate stage with Donald Trump and defeat him by being able to prosecute the case against four more years.
And let me tell you, we've got a long rap sheet. We're looking at someone **who passed** a tax bill benefiting the top 1% and the biggest corporations in this country **when he said** he would help working families. We've got a person

who has put babies in cages and **separated** children from their parents. We have someone **who passed** his so-called trade policy **that was** trade policy by tweet and **has resulte**d in a tax on American families.
So we must defeat him. And then in turning the page, <u>write the next chapter for our country</u>. And that has to be written in a way that recognizes what wakes people up at three o'clock in the morning. And that is my agenda. The 3:00 AM agenda that is focused on getting folks the jobs they need, getting their children the education they need, making sure they have the healthcare they need, and the future they deserve. So please join me at kamalaharris.org and I thank you for your time.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 15
Near Future: 2
Distant Future:

Word Count: 342
RN Count: 17
RN: 0.04970760234

John Hickenlooper:

First Debate: Night Two, June 27th 2019, Miami, FL. Transcript by ASC Services on behalf of BGOV.

I'm a small-business owner **who brought** that same scrappy spirit to big Colorado, one of the most progressive states in America**. We expanded** reproductive health to reduce teenage abortion by 64 percent. **We were** the first state to legalize marijuana, and **we transformed** our justice system in the process.
We **passed** universal background checks in a purple state. We **got to near** universal health care coverage. We **attacked c**limate change with the toughest methane regulations in the country. And for the **last three** years, **we've been** the number-one economy in America.
You don't need big government to do big things. I know that because I'm the one person up here **who's actually done** the big progressive things everyone else is talking about. <u>If we turn towards</u> socialism, <u>we run the risk</u> of helping to re-elect the worst president in American history.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 10
Near Future: 2
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 141
RN Count: 12
RN: 0.08510638298

Second Debate: Night One, July 30th, 2019. Detroit, MI. (Transcript by Rev).

Thank you. And what a night. I've loved it.

I'd like to ask every American to imagine that you are facing life-threatening surgery tomorrow. Would you choose a doctor who had a track record of proven success, who'd actually done the work, or someone who had just talked about it? That's the question we're facing in this primary.

I've actually **got a track record as** small-business owner, as a mayor, and as a governor**. We expanded** health care in Colorado. **We got** near universal coverage. **We fought c**limate change directly. **We beat** the NRA. And for the last three years, **we've been the** number-one economy in the country. We can wrap all that out.

I'm as progressive as anybody up on this stage, but I'm also pragmatic. And **I've done th**e things that most of these other people are just talking about. And I know I can get results. And I can lead the people of this country towards a stronger, a healthier, and <u>a more secure future</u>, and <u>defeat Donal</u>d Trump and <u>return this</u> country to its glory.

Thank you.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 6
Near Future: 4
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 181
RN Count: 10
RN: 0.05524861878

Jay Inslee:

First Debate: Night One, June 26th 2019, Miami, FL. Transcript by ASC Services on behalf of BGOV.

Grandchildren, we love them all. And when **I was thinking** about whether to run for president, **I made** a decision. **I decided** that <mark>on my last day on Earth</mark>, **I wanted** t<mark>o look them in the eye</mark> and <mark>tell them</mark> I did everything humanly possible to protect them from the ravages of the climate crisis.
And I know to a moral certainty, if we do not have the next president who commits to this as the top priority<u>, it won't get done</u>. And I am the only candidate -- frankly, I'm surprised. I'm the only candidate **who's made this** commitment to make it the top priority.
If you join me in that recognition of how important this is, <u>we can have</u> a unified national mission. <u>We can save</u> ourselves. <u>We can save</u> our children. <u>We can save</u> our grandchildren. <u>And we can</u> save literally the life on this planet. This is our moment.

Relative Narrativity:

Distant Past: 3
Past experiences: 5
Near Future: 6
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 152
RN Count: 17
RN: 0.1118421053

Second Debate: Night Two, July 31st, 2019. Detroit, MI. (Transcript by Rev).

For decades, we have kicked the can down the road on climate change. And now under Donald Trump, we face a looming catastrophe. But it is not too late. We have one last chance. And when you have one chance in life, you take it.

Think about this: <mark>Literally the survival of humanity on this planet and civilization as we know it</mark> is in the hands of the next president. And we have to have a leader <u>who will do what</u> is necessary to save us. And that includes making this the top priority of the next presidency.

And I alone on this panel am making a commitment that this will be the organizing principle of my administration not the first day, but every day. And if you share my view of the urgency of this matter, I hope <u>you'll join me,</u>

because we are up against powerful special fossil fuel interests. And it is time to stand up on our legs and confront the fossil fuel special interests. Because that is our salvation, what it depends upon.

So I hope you will consider going to jayinslee.com and joining this effort. And I will close with this: I am confident and optimistic tonight, even in the face of this difficulty, because I know we can build a clean energy economy, I know we can save our children and our grandchildren. I know that we can defeat climate change and we will defeat Donald Trump.

This is our moral responsibility. And we will fulfill it. Thank you very much.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 1
Near Future: 8
Distant Future: 2

Word Count: 259
RN Count: 13
RN: 0.05019305019

Amy Klobouchar:

First Debate: Night One, June 26th 2019, Miami, FL. Transcript by ASC Services on behalf of BGOV.

Three things to know about me. First, I listen to people and that's how I get things done. That is my focus. I have a track record of **passing over 100 bills** where I'm the lead Democrat. And that is because I **listened** and I **acted.** And I think that's important in a president. Everything else just melts away.
Secondly, I'm someone that can win and beat Donald trump. **I have won** every place, **every race**, and **every time**. **I have won** in the reddest of districts, ones that **Donald Trump won by over 20 points**. I can win in states like Wisconsin and Iowa and in Michigan.
And finally, yeah, I am not the establishment party candidate. I've got respect, but I'm not that person. I am the one that doesn't have a political machine, that doesn't come from money. And I don't make all the promises that everyone up here makes.
But I can promise you this. I am going to govern with integrity. I'm going to, I'm going to govern for you.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 8
Near Future: 4
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 175
RN Count: 12
RN: 0.06857142857

Second Debate: Night One, July 30th, 2019. Detroit, MI. (Transcript by Rev).

Well, thank you, Detroit. To win, we have to listen to people. And out there today is Casey Jo's mom. Casey Jo **was a champio**n high school swimmer from a small town. She **got sick, w**ent to the emergency room, and **got hooked** on opioids. The last thing that **she said** to her mom was, "Mama, it's not my fault." And **she died**.
A lot of Americans say the same thing every day. And that is what I will stand up for and what I will stand up against are companies like those pharma companies that **got her hooked** on those opioids and **didn't** tell the doctors or the patients what was going to happen.
We need someone that has people's back. We also need someone that can win. And **I have won** in these red districts. I win in the Midwest. I can win in states like Wisconsin and Michigan and Iowa.

I also will do my job without fear or favor, just like **I did as a p**rosecutor, and get through the gridlock like **I've done as** a senator, where **I've passed ov**er 100 bills where **I've been the le**ad Democrat.
And last, yes, I will govern with integrity. We have a president where people turn off their TV when they see him. Not me. I will make you proud as your president.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 12
Near Future: 4
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 224
RN Count: 16
RN: 0.07142857143

Martin O'Malley:

   First Debate: October 13, 2015. Las Vegas, Nevada. Transcript by Rev.

Anderson, thank you. I am very, very grateful to have been able to be on this stage with this distinguished group of candidates tonight. And what you heard tonight, Anderson, was a very, very … And all of you watching at home, was a very, very different debate than from the sort of debate you heard from the two presidential Republican debates. On this stage you didn't hear anyone denigrate women, you didn't hear anyone make racist comments about new American immigrants, you didn't hear anyone speak ill of another American because of their religious belief.

What you heard instead on this stage tonight was an honest search for the answers that will move our country forward, to move us to a 100% clean electric energy grid by 2050, to take the actions that we have always taken as Americans so that we can actually attack injustice in our country, employ more of our people, rebuild our cities and towns, educate our children at higher and better levels, and include more of our people in the economic, social, and political life of our country. I truly believe that we are standing on the threshold ==of a new era of American progress.== Unless **you've become discouraged** about our gridlock in Congress, talk to our young people under 30, because you'll never find among them people that want to bash immigrants or people that want to deny rights to gay couples. That tells me we are moving to ==a more connected, generous, and compassionate place,== and we need to speak to the goodness within our country.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 1
Near Future: 8
Distant Future: 2

Word Count: 264
RN Count: 13
RN: 0.04924242424

   Second Debate: November 14th, 2015. Des Moines, IA. Transcript by Time.

John, thank you, and to all of the people in Iowa, for the role you have performed in this presidential selection process.
If you believe that our country's problems and the threats that we face in this world can only be met with new thinking, new and fresh approaches, then I ask you to join my campaign. Go on to martinomalley.com. No hour is too short, no dollar too small. If you — we will not solve our nation's problems by resorting to the divisive ideologies **of our past**, or by returning to polarizing figures **from our past.** We are at the threshold ==of a new era of American progress,== but it's going to require that we act as Americans, based on our principles, here at home, making

an economy that works for all of us. And, also, acting according to our principles and constructing a new foreign policy of engagement and collaboration, and doing a much better job of identifying threats before they back up into military corners. There is no challenge too great for the United States to confront, provided we have the ability and the courage to put forward new leadership that can move us to those better and safer and more prosperous days. I need your help. Thank you very, very much.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 2
Near Future: 2
Distant Future: 1

Word Count: 217
RN Count: 6
RN: 0.0276497695

Beto O'Rourke:

First Debate: Night One, June 26th 2019, Miami, FL. Transcript by ASC Services on behalf of BGOV.

Our daughter, Molly, **turned** 11 this week. I'm on this stage for her, for children across this country, including some her same age **who've been separated** from their parents and are sleeping on concrete floors under aluminum blankets tonight.
If we're going to be there for them, if we're going to confront the challenges that we face, we can't return to the same old approach. We're going to need a new kind of politics, one directed by the urgency of the next generation, those climate activists, who are fighting not just for their future but for everyone's, those students marching not just for their lives but for all of ours.
We'll need a movement like the one that **we led** in Texas. **It renewed** our democracy by **bringing** everyone in and **writing** nobody off. That's how we beat Donald Trump. That's how we bring this great country together again. Join us. This is our moment. And the generations that follow are counting on us to meet it.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past:0
Past experiences: 6
Near Future: 5
Distant Future: 2

Word Count: 167
RN Count: 15
RN: 0.08982035928

Second Debate: Night One, July 30th, 2019. Detroit, MI. Transcript by Rev.

We are as divided and polarized as a country as we have ever been. And right now we have a president who uses fear to try to drive us further apart. To meet this challenge, we have to have hope in one another and a faith in a future of the country that includes everyone.

My whole life, **I've been** including people in the success of this country, **starting a small business** with high-value, high-wage, high-skilled jobs in the third poorest urban county in America, **serving on C**ity Council and **holding town** hall meetings every single week to remind myself who it is that I serve at the end of the day, and in Congress, being in the minority but working with Democrats and Republicans alike to deliver for my constituents and this country.

And then in Texas, this last year, **traveling t**o every county, **not writing anyb**ody off, **not taking** anyone for granted, and at the end of the day, **winning more v**otes than any Democrat <mark>had in the history of the state,</mark> winning independents f**or the first time in decades,** and **winning** nearly half-a-million Republicans, and those 38 Electoral College votes in Texas are now in play and I can win them.

That is how we defeat Donald Trump in November of 2020 and how we bring this divided country together again in January of 2021. Thank you.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 2
Past experiences: 9
Near Future: 3
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 230
RN Count: 14
RN: 0.06086956522

Tim Ryan:

First Debate: Night One, June 26th 2019, Miami, FL. Transcript by ASC Services on behalf of BGOV.

There's nothing worse than not being heard. Nothing worse than not being seen. And I know that because **I've represented** for 17 years in Congress a forgotten community.
They've tried to divide us, who's white, who's black, who's gay, who's straight, who's a man, who's a woman. And **they ran away** with all the gold because **they divided** the working class. It's time for us to come together.
I don't know how you feel, but I'm ready to play some offense. I come from the middle of industrial America, but these problems are all over our country. There's a tent city in L.A. There's homeless people and people around our country who can't afford a home. It's time for us to get back on track. The teacher in Texas, the nurse in New Hampshire, the waitress in Wisconsin, all of us coming together, playing offense with an agenda that lifts everybody up.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 4
Near Future: 0
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 153
RN Count: 4
RN: 0.02614379085

Second Debate: Night One, July 30th, 2019. Detroit, MI. Transcript by Rev.

So in a few minutes, all of the pundits are going to be looking at this debate and saying, well, who captured the left lane and who captured the center lane and who captured the moderate lane?

I hope tonight at some level I captured your imagination, your imagination about what this country could be like if we united, if we put together real policy that weren't left or right, but new and better. That's how we win the future. It's new and better.

A new and better economy, a new and better education system, a new and better health care system that focuses on prevention, an education system that focuses on the trauma of our kids.

There's not going to be a savior. Not going to be a superstar that's going to fix all this. It's going to be you and me. It's going to be us. That's how we fix this country, you and I coming together to do big things, to imagine the new country that we want by coming together, not left or right. New and better.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 0
Near Future: 9
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 181
RN Count: 9
RN: 0.04972375691

Bernie Sanders (2016):

First Debate: October 13, 2015. Las Vegas, Nevada. Transcript by Rev.

This is a great country, but we have many, many serious problems. We should not be the country that has the highest rate of childhood poverty of any major country and more wealth and income inequality than any other country. We should not be the only major country on Earth that does not guarantee healthcare to all of our people as a right of citizenship, and we should not be the only major country that does not provide medical and parental leave, family and parental leave to all of our families.

Now, at the end of our day, here is the truth that very few candidates will say, is that nobody up here, certainly no Republican, can address the major crises facing our country unless millions of people begin to stand up to the billionaire class that has so much power over our economy and our political life. Jim Webb is right. Money is pouring into this campaign through super PACs. We are doing it the old-fashioned way, 650,000 individual contributions. And if people want to help us out, berniesanders.com. We are averaging $30 bucks apiece. We would appreciate your help.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past
Near Past:
Near Future: 1
Distant Future:

Word Count: 194
RN Count: 1
RN: 0.005154639175

Second Debate: November 14th, 2015. Des Moines, IA. Transcript by Time.

 John — John, this country today has more income and wealth inequality than any major country on Earth. We have a corrupt campaign finance system dominated by Super PACs. We are the only major country on Earth that doesn't guarantee healthcare to all people. We have the highest rate of childhood poverty, and we're the only country in the world — virtually the only country that doesn't guarantee paid family and medical leave.
That's not the America that I think we should be. But in order to bring about the changes that we need, we need a political revolution. Millions of people are going to have to stand up, turn off the TV, get involved in the political process and tell the big- money interest that we are taking back our country. Please go to berniesanders.com. Please become part of the political revolution. Thank you.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 0
Near Future: 4
Distant Future:

Word Count: 146
RN Count: 4
RN: 0.02739726027

Bernie Sanders (2020):

First Debate: Night Two, June 27th 2019, Miami, FL. Transcript by ASC Services on behalf of BGOV.

I suspect people all over the country who are watching this debate are saying, these are good people, they have great ideas. But how come nothing really changes? How come **for the last 45 years** wages have been stagnant for the middle class? How come we have the highest rate of childhood poverty? How come 45 million people still have student debt? How come three people own more wealth than the bottom half of America? And here is the answer, nothing will change unless we have the guts to take on Wall Street, the insurance industry, the pharmaceutical industry, the military-industrial complex, and the fossil fuel industry. If we don't have the guts to take them on, we'll continue to have plans, we'll continue to have talk, and the rich will get richer, and everybody else will be struggling.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 1
Near Future: 5
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 139
RN Count: 6
RN: 0.04316546763

Second Debate: Night One, July 30th, 2019. Detroit, MI. Transcript by Rev.

I grew up in Brooklyn, New York…

… the son of an immigrant who came to this country from Poland at the age of 17 without a nickel in his pocket, never made a whole lot of money, but was a very proud American, because this country gave him and my mom the opportunity to send their kids to college.

I believe that this country has enormous potential if we have the guts to take on the big money interests who dominate our economic and political life. And I disagree with Secretary Clinton in the belief that you can get money from Wall Street, that you can get money for a super PAC from powerful special interests, and then at the end of the day do what has to be done for the working families of this country. I just don't accept that.

What I believe is that this country, if we stand together and not let the Trumps of the world divide us up, can guarantee health care to all people as a right, can have paid family and medical leave, can make public colleges and universities tuition-free, can lead the world in transforming our energy system and combatting climate change, can break up the large financial institutions, can demand that the wealthiest people in this country start paying their fair share of taxes.

And <u>we can do that when millions of people stand</u> up, <u>fight back,</u> and <u>create</u> a government that works for all of us, not just the 1 percent.

That is what the political revolution is about. That is what this campaign is about. And with your help, <u>we're going to win here in New York.</u> Thank you. Thank you.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past; 4
Past experiences: 0
Near Future: 4
Distant Future:0

RN Count: 12
Word count: 284
RN: 0.04225352113

Tom Steyer:

Eighth Debate: Night One, January 14, 2020. Des Moines, IA. Transcript by Rev.

I know that Iowans <u>are going to caucus</u> within three weeks and I want to tell you how I feel about the American people. Look, **I played** team sports my entire life. The bond between teammates is deep and emotional and full of love and as far as I'm concerned, the American people are my teammates. And if there's one thing I will not permit, it is someone to run down the field and kick my teammate in the face. And that is exactly what **I've seen over the** last seven years **traveling** around this country, **seeing** these Republicans led by Mr. Trump, **basically kicking** the American people in the face. I am prepared <u>to take</u> on Mr. Trump on the debate stage and <u>take him down</u> on the economy. But I am asking for your support because I know that <u>if I'm going to be a</u> good teammate to you and <u>give you</u> absolutely everything without any compromise, I need the support of you on caucus night so I can turn around and together <u>we can take back this country</u> and together <u>we can save the world.</u>

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 5
Near Future: 5
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 188
RN Count: 10
RN: 0.05319148936

Eric Swalwell:

First Debate: Night Two, June 27th 2019, Miami, FL. Transcript by ASC Services on behalf of BGOV.

We can't be a forward-looking party if we look **to the past** for our leadership. I'm a congressman, but also a father of a 2-year-old and an infant. When I'm not changing diapers, I'm changing Washington. Most of the time, the diapers smell better.
I went to Congress at 31, and **I found** a Washington that doesn't work for people like you and me. It's made of the rich and the disconnected. **I was the first** in my family to go to college and have student loan debt.
And so I **have led the** effort to elect the next generation of members of Congress, and we have a moment to seize. This is a can-do generation. This is the generation that <u>will end</u> climate chaos. This is the generation <u>that will solve</u> student loan debt. And this is the generation <u>that will say</u> enough is enough and <u>end</u> gun violence. This generation demands bold solutions. That's why I'm running for president.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 5
Near Future: 3
Distant Future:

Word Count: 161
RN Count: 8
RN: 0.04347826087

Elizabeth Warren:

First Debate: Night One, June 26th 2019, Miami, FL. Transcript by ASC Services on behalf of BGOV.

Thank you. It's a great honor to be here. Never in a million years did I think I would stand on a stage like this. **I was born** and raised in Oklahoma. I have three older brothers. **They all joined** the military.
I had a dream growing up. And **my dream was to be** a public school teacher. By the time **I graduated** from high school, my family -- **my family didn't have the money** for a college application, much less a chance for me to go to college.
But **I got my chance. It was** a $50 a semester commuter college. **That was a little** slice of government **that created some** opportunity for a girl. And **it opened my life.**
I am in this fight because I believe that we can make our government, we can make our economy, we can make our country work not just for those at the top. We can make it work for everyone. And I promise you this: I will fight for you as hard as I fight for my own family.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 11
Near Future: 5
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 178
RN Count: 16
RN: 0.08988764045

Second Debate: Night One, July 30th, 2019. Detroit, MI. Transcript by Rev.

From the time **I was** 7 years old, **I had** a dream. **I wanted** to be a public schoolteacher. But my daddy **ended up** as janitor. And by the time **I graduate**d from high school, my family **didn't have the** money to send me off to college. My big chance **was what was** then a commuter college that **cost $50 a semes**ter.
For me, what this election is all about is opportunity. Every budget, every policy that we talk about is about who's going to get opportunity. Is it going to go to the billionaires? Or is it going to go to our kids?
Right now, for decades**, we have had a** government **that has been** on the side of the rich and the powerful. **It has been on the** side of the wealthy. And that means **it has not been** on the side of everyone else, not on the side of people living on our Native American reservations, people living in inner cities, people living in small farms, and small communities across this country.
How do we beat it? We beat it by being the party of big, structural change. Give people a reason to show up and vote. And we beat it by building a grassroots movement across this country, not showing up behind closed doors with millionaires, but actually building it person by person across this country, with small-dollar donations, with volunteers, with people who show up and say, "I have a stake in this democracy."
I will not only beat Donald Trump in 2020, I'll start to make real change come 2021.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 12

28

Near Future: 2
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 266
RN Count: 14
RN: 0.05263157895

Jim Webb:

First Debate: October 13, 2015. Las Vegas, Nevada. Transcript by Rev.

Thank you. Ladies and gentlemen, it's been a pleasure to be with you tonight. You've heard a lot of promises up here. You've heard a lot of rhetoric. They all seem to happen during campaigns, and then once the election's over people start from scratch again and try to get things done. One of the things I can promise you, if you look at my record, in and out of government, is that **I've always been willing t**o take on a complicated, sometimes unpopular, issues and **work them through**, the complex issues, and **work them through** in order to have a solution. **We did it w**ith criminal justice reform. We've had a lot of discussion here about criminal justice reform. We did it in other ways. We need a national political strategy for our economy, for our foreign policy, for social justice, and, by the way, for how you run and manage the most complex bureaucracy in the world, which is the federal government. I know how to lead. **I did it in V**ietnam, **I did it in t**he Pentagon, **I did it in** the Senate, and if you will help me overcome this cavalcade of financial irregularities and money that is poisoning our political process, I am ready <u>to do </u>that for you in the White House.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 8
Near Future: 1
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 218
RN Count: 9
RN: 0.04128440367

Marianne Williamson:

First Debate: Night Two, June 27th 2019, Miami, FL. Transcript by ASC Services on behalf of BGOV.

I'm sorry we haven't talked more tonight about how we're going to beat Donald Trump. I have an idea about Donald Trump. <u>Donald Trump is not going</u> to be beaten just by insider politics talk. <u>He's not going</u> to be beaten just somebody who has plans.
<u>He's going to be beaten </u>by somebody who has an idea **what this man has done**. T**his man has reached** into the psyche of the American people and **he has harnessed** fear for political purposes. So, Mr. President, if you're listening, I want you to hear me, please. **You have harnessed** fear for political purposes and only love can cast that out.
So I, sir, I have a feeling you know what you're doing. <u>I'm going to harness</u> love for political purposes. I <u>will meet you </u>on that field. And, sir, <u>love will win.</u>

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 4
Near Future: 6
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 140
RN Count: 10
RN: 0.07142857143

Second Debate: Night One, July 30th, 2019. Detroit, MI. Transcript by Rev.

Yes, our problem is not just that we need to defeat Donald Trump. We need a plan to solve institutionalized hatred, collectivized hatred, and white nationalism.

And in order to do that, we need more than political insider game and wonkiness and intellectual argument. Those things will not defeat Donald Trump. We need some radical truth-telling, not just to talk about health care, but talk about why are we so sick all the time. We need to have a serious conversation about race and what is truly owed.

Even on the subject of foreign policy, it's all about symptoms and not about cause. We need to talk about the fact that the United States **has sacrificed our moral leadership.** The fact that countries see us, not only domestically but internationally, with policies that simply support our corporate overlords. The fact that our national defense agenda is driven more by short-term profits for defense contractors than by genuine peace-building.

There's some corruption that is so deep, ladies and gentlemen. And until the Democratic Party is ready to speak to the deeper corruption, knowing that we ourselves sometimes because of our own corporate donations have participated, than I'm afraid those who vote for Trump will continue to vote for Trump and those who might not like Donald Trump will continue to stay home.

I want a politics that goes much deeper. I want a politics that speaks to the heart, because the only way to fight -- you keep talking about how we're going to fight Donald Trump. You can't fight dog whistles. You have to override them.

And the only way you can override them is with new voices, voices of energy that only come from the fact that America has been willing to live up to our own mistakes, atone for our mistakes, make amends for our own mistakes, love each other, love our democracy, love future generations, something emotional and psychological that will not be -- be emerging from anything on this stage. It will emerge from something I'm the one who's qualified to bring forth.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 1
Near Future: 4
Distant Future:

Word Count: 345
RN Count: 5
RN:0.01449275362

Andrew Yang:

First Debate: Night Two, June 27th 2019, Miami, FL. Transcript by ASC Services on behalf of BGOV.

First, I want to thank everyone who put me on this stage tonight. I am proof that our democracy still works. Democrats and Americans around the country have one question for their nominee, and that is, who can beat Donald Trump in 2020? That is the right question. And the right candidate to beat Donald Trump will be solving the problems that got Donald Trump elected, and we'll have a vision of a trickle-up economy that is already drawing thousands of disaffected Trump voters, conservatives, independents, and libertarians, as well as Democrats and progressives. I am that candidate. I can build a much broader coalition to beat Donald Trump. It is not left; it is not right. It is forward. And that is where I'll take the country in 2020.

Relative Narrativity
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 0
Near Future: 5
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 130
RN Count: 5
RN: 0.03846153846

Second Debate: Night Two, July 31st, 2019. Detroit, MI. Transcript by Rev.

You know what the talking heads couldn't stop talking about **after the last debat**e? It's not the fact that I'm somehow number four on this stage in national polling. It was the fact that **I wasn't** wearing a tie. Instead of talking about automation and our future, including the fact that **we automated away four million** manufacturing jobs, hundreds of thousands right here in Michigan. We're up here with makeup on our faces and our rehearsed attack lines playing roles in this reality TV show. It's one reason why we elected a reality TV star as our President. We need to be laser focused on solving the real challenges of today, like the fact that the most common job jobs in America may not exist in a decade. Or, that most Americans cannot pay their bills. My flagship proposal, the Freedom Dividend, would put $1,000 a month into the hands of every American adult, be a game changer for millions of American families. If you care more about your family and your kids than my neckwear, enter your zip code at yang2020.com, and see what $1,000 a month would mean to your community. **I have done the mat**h. It's not left. It's not right. It's forward. And that is how we're going to beat Donald

Relative Narrativity
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 4
Near Future: 3
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 218
RN Count: 7
RN: 0.03211009174

Appendix 3: Republican Closing Statements – Temporal Coding[2]

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[2] The Following Transcripts were used for analysis:

" Republican Debate Transcript: Undercard Debate on Economy." 2015a.CBS News. https://www.cbsnews.com/news/republican-debate-transcript-undercard-debate-on-economy/.

" Transcript: Second-Tier CNN Republican Debate 2015." 2015b.*CBS News*. https://www.cbsnews.com/news/transcript-second-tier-republican-debate-2015-reagan-library/.

"First 2015 Republican Primary Debate Transcript: Classic Debates from 2016 Election Cycle." 2015. *Rev*. https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/first-2015-republican-primary-debate-transcript-classic-debates-from-2016-election-cycle.

"Republican Debate Transcript: Primetime Debate on Economy." 2015d.*CBS News*. https://www.cbsnews.com/news/republican-debate-transcript-primetime-debate-on-economy/.

Beckwith, Ryan Teague. 2015a. "Transcript: Read the Full Text of the Republican Undercard Debate." *Time*. https://time.com/3988033/transcript-republican-debate-happy-hour/.

Relative Narrative Coding:
<mark style="background:cyan">Blue</mark> <mark style="background:cyan">Highlight</mark> = distant past
Bold = past experience
<u>Underline</u> = near future
<mark style="background:yellow">Yellow highlight</mark> = distant future

Jeb Bush:

First Debate: Primetime Debate, August 6th, 2015, Cleveland OH. Transcript by Rev.

Here's what I believe. I believe we're at the verge of <mark style="background:yellow">the greatest time to be alive in this world</mark>, but Washington is holding us back. How we tax, how we regulate. We're not embracing the energy revolution in our midst, a broken immigration system **that has been** politicized rather than turning it into an economic driver.

We're not protecting and preserving our entitlement system or reforming it for the next generation. All these things languish while we have politicians in Washington using these as wedge issues.

Here's my commitment to you, because **I did it as** Florida. <u>We can fix</u> these things. <u>We can grow</u> economically and <u>restore</u> America's leadership in the world, so that everybody has a chance to rise up. I humbly ask for your vote, whenever you're going to get to vote, whenever the primary is. Thank you all very much.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 2
Near Future: 3
Distant Future: 1

Word Count: 145
RN Count: 7
RN: 0.04827586207

Second Debate: Primetime Debate, September 26th, 2015, Simi Valley CA. Transcript by Time.

Six million more people are living in poverty **than the day that B**arack Obama got elected president. Six million more people. The middle class **has had de**clining income, workforce participation rates a**re lower than they were in 1977.**

<mark style="background:cyan">For the first time in modern history,</mark> more businesses are failing than are being created. That is what the next president <u>will have to deal with.</u>

Beckwith, Ryan Teague. 2015b. "Transcript: Read the Full Text of the Second Republican Debate." *Time*. https://time.com/4037239/second-republican-debate-transcript-cnn/.

Time Staff. 2015a. "Transcript: Read the Full Text of the CNBC Republican Debate in Boulder." *Time*. https://time.com/4091301/republican-debate-transcript-cnbc-boulder/.

Time Staff. 2015b. "Transcript: Read the Full Text of the Undercard CNBC Debate in Boulder." *TIme*. https://time.com/4091725/republican-debate-cnbc-undercard-transcript-full-text/.

And I believe we can reverse course by creating a strategy of high sustained economic growth, not the new normal of 2 percent that all the left says we just have to get used to, but a 4 percent growth strategy where we reform how we tax, fix the broken regulatory system, embrace the energy revolution in our midst, fix the immigration system so we can turn it into an economic driver, deal with the structural fiscal problems that exist because of our entitlement problems that will overwhelm and create way too much debt.

If we grow at 4 percent, people are going to be lifted out of poverty. The great middle that defines our country will have a chance to be able to pursue their dreams as they see fit.

That should be the great challenge and the great opportunity for the next president of the United States, to forge consensus to go back to a high-growth strategy. And then we'll be able to lead the world.

Without a high-growth strategy, our country will never have the resources or the optimism to be able to lead the world, which the world desperately needs our leadership.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 1
Past experiences: 4
Near Future: 12
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 260
RN Count: 18
RN:0.06923076923

Third Debate: Primetime Debate, October 28th, 2015, Boulder CO. Transcript by Time.

America's at a crossroads. The D.C. politicians continue to make things worse. I have a proven record of success, **32 years in busin**ess, an**d 8 years as** Governor of the state of Florida.
I will change the culture in Washington, just **as I changed the cult**ure in Tallahassee. I will do so in a way that will bring people together. We need a unifier, not a cynical divider in chief, and that's exactly what I will do.
Imagine a country where people are lifted out of poverty again. Imagine a country where the middle class can get rising income again. I know we can do this because we're still the most extraordinary country on the face of the Earth.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 3
Near Future: 6
Distant Future:

Word Count: 120
RN Count: 9
RN: 0.075

Ben Carson:

First Debate: Undercard Debate, August 6th, 2015. Cleveland OH. Transcript by Time.

Well, I haven't said anything about me being the only one to do anything, so let me try that. I'm the only one to **separate** siamese twins…
The — the only one to **operate** on babies **while they were** still in mother's womb, the only one to **take out half of a brai**n, although you would think, if you go to Washington, that **someone had** beat me to it.

But I — but I'm very hopeful that I'm not the only one who's willing to pick up the baton of freedom, because freedom is not free, and we must fight for it every day. Every one of us must fight for it, because we're fighting for our children and ==the next generation.==

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 5
Near Future: 0
Distant Future: 1

Word Count: 122
RN Count: 7
RN: 0.05737704918

Second Debate: Primetime Debate, September 26th, 2015, Simi Valley CA. Transcript by Time.

Well, you know, **I was a** radical Democrat before **I started listening** to Ronald Reagan. And **he didn't** sound like what t**hey said** Republicans were.

He **sounded** logical. And I hope that I sound logical also. Because when I look at what is going on with the United States of America, I see a lot of things that are not logical.
I see us allowing people to divide us, when in fact our strength is in our unity. I see people exercising the most irresponsible fiscal habits that anyone could possibly do. And hiding it from the American people, so that the majority of people have no idea what our financial situation is.

So, when someone comes along and says, free college, free phones, free this and that, and the other, they say, "wow, that's nice," having no idea that they're destabilizing our position. And I think also that **Ronald Reagan was a maste**r at understanding that a pinnacle nation has to be a nation that leads.

If we learn to lead in the Middle East right now, a coalition will form behind us, but never they do it if we just sit there and talk about it.

Real leadership is what I would hopefully bring to America.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 6
Near Future: 2
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 208
RN Count: 8
RN:0.03846153846

Third Debate: Primetime Debate, October 28th, 2015, Boulder CO. Transcript by Time.

 I just want to thank all my colleagues here for being civil, and not falling for the traps. And, I also just want to thank the audience for being attentive, and noticing the questions, and the noticing the answers. And, this is what I am finding throughout America.

People are waking up because it is going to be us who will determine the direction of our country. And, it was made for we the people, we are the ones who decide who we are, and we should never give away ==the values and principles that made America== into a great nation for the sake of political correctness.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past:1
Past experiences: 0
Near Future: 1
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 107
RN Count: 3
RN:0.02803738318

Chris Christie:

First Debate: Primetime Debate, August 6ᵗʰ, 2015, Cleveland OH. Transcript by Rev.

Well, thank you, Megyn. Listen**, I was born i**nto a middle class family in New Jersey. My dad **came home.** from serving in the Army after **having lost his** father, **worked** in the Breyers ice cream plant in Newark, New Jersey. **Was the** first person to graduate from college. **He put himself** through college at night. My mom **was a s**ecretary. I **was appointed** United States attorney on September 10, 2001. And **I spent the nex**t seven years of my career fighting terrorism and putting terrorists in jail.
I'm a conservative, pro-life governor in a state where it is really tough to be both. A state like New Jersey, with lots of Democrats, but still **we cut** taxes, **we balanced** budgets. **We fought th**e teacher's union.
This president has **had weak l**eadership, which has **led to** bad choices. We have got to stop worrying about being loved and start worrying about being respected. And that's exactly how I'll lead our country.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 14
Near Future: 1
Distant Future:0

Word Count: 161
RN Count: 15
RN: 0.09316770186

Second Debate: Primetime Debate, September 26ᵗʰ, 2015, Simi Valley CA. Transcript by Time.

I turned 18 in 1980, and my first vote **was for** Ronald Reagan. Boy, am I glad **I did it.** And I think the country is, too. A Christie presidency won't be about me. It will be about you.

Tonight, you sit at home in your living room, frustrated that you play by the rules, you pay the taxes, you do the hard things to raise your family, yet you feel like America's generosity is being taken advantage of. That **you've been --** system is being gamed, and that you're turning out to fall further and further behind.

Our presidency -- our presidency -- will be about ending that, about enforcing the law, level the playing field for everybody, and once again reward those folks who play by the rules, and think that justice means more than just the word. But it means a way of life.

And I will tell you this, around the world, I will not shake hands with, I will not meet with, and I will not agree to anything with a country that says death to us and death to Israel and holds our hostages while we sign agreements with them.

It will be an America that be strong and resolute, and will once **again** be able to stick out its chest and say, "we truly are the greatest nation in the world, because we live our lives that way, each and every day."

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 5
Near Future: 10
Distant Future: 1

Word Count: 145
RN Count: 15
RN: 0.1034482759

Third Debate: Primetime Debate, October 28th, 2015, Boulder CO. Transcript by Time.

I want to talk to the folks at home. I want to ask you: Are you fed up with how Washington taxes you? Are you fed up with how Washington wastes your money? Are you concerned like I am that the debt and deficits of Washington, D.C. are endangering America's future?

I've got one more question for you then. Are you serious about this election? Because if you are, you need to elect someone who's deadly serious about changing this culture. I am deadly serious about changing this culture. I **changed it** in New Jersey. I'm deadly serious about doing this job the right way.
I'm prepared. I'm tested. I'm ready. And I want to make this our government. For the people who say we can't do it, I say hell no, we can do it together.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past:
Past experiences: 1
Near Future: 1
Distant Future:

Word Count: 138
RN Count: 2
RN: 0.01449275362

Ted Cruz:

First Debate: Primetime Debate, August 6th, 2015, Cleveland OH. Transcript by Rev.

If I'm elected president, let me tell you about my first day in office. The first thing I intend to do is to rescind every illegal and unconstitutional executive action **taken by** Barack Obama.
The next thing I intend to do is instruct the Department of Justice to open an investigation into these videos and to prosecute Planned Parenthood for any criminal violations.
The next thing I intend to do is instruct the Department of Justice and the IRS to start (sic) persecuting religious liberty, and then intend to cancel the Iran deal, and finally move the U.S. embassy in Israel to Jerusalem. I will keep my word. My father fled Cuba, and I will fight to defend liberty because my family know what it's like to lose it.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 2

36

Past experiences: 1
Near Future: 10
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 130
RN Count: 13
RN: 0.1

Second Debate: Primetime Debate, September 26th, 2015, Simi Valley CA. Transcript by Time.

Ronald Reagan **believed** in America.

If I'm elected president our friends and allies across the globe will know that we stand with them. the bust of Winston Churchill will be back in the Oval Office, and the American embassy in Israel will be in Jerusalem.

Enemies across this world will know the United States is not to be trifled with. ISIS will be defeated. We will have a president willing to utter the words, "radical Islamic terrorism," and the Ayatollah Khamenei will understand that he will never, ever, ever acquire nuclear weapons.

Here at home, we'll reignite the promise of America. Young people coming out of school, with student loans up to their eyeballs, will find instead of no jobs, two, three, four, five job opportunities.

How will that happen? Through tax reform. We'll pass a simple flat tax and abolish the IRS. And through regulatory reform, we will repeal every word of Obamacare.

You want to know what I'll do as president? It is real simple. We'll kill the terrorists, we'll repeal Obamacare, and we will defend the Constitution, every single word of it.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 1
Near Future: 17
Distant Future:0

Word Count: 185
RN Count: 18
RN: 0.0972972973

Third Debate: Primetime Debate, October 28th, 2015, Boulder CO. Transcript by Time.

You know, everyone here talks about the need to take on Washington. The natural next question is who **actually has done so**. Who **actually has** stood up not just to Democrats, but to leaders in our own party? When millions of Americans **rose up against** Obamacare, **I was proud** to lead that fight. When millions of Americans **rose up against amnesty,** I **was proud t**o lead that fight. When millions of Americans **rose up** against Planned Parenthood, **I was pr**oud to lead that fight.
If people are promising they're going to take on Washington and cronyism, you need to look to **who has** been doing it. In my family, my dad fled oppression in Cuba to come to America. Freedom is personal for me, and I will always keep my word and fight for freedom.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 1
Past experiences: 9
Near Future: 1
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 135
RN Count: 12
RN: 0.08888888889

Carly Fiorina:

Second Debate: Primetime Debate, September 26th, 2015, Simi Valley CA. Transcript by Time.

I think what this nation can be and must be is symbolized by Lady Liberty and Lady Justice. Lady Liberty stands tall and strong. She is clear-eyed and resolute. She doesn't shield her eyes from the realities of the world, but she faces outward into the world nevertheless, as we always must. And she holds her torch high, because she knows she is a beacon of hope in a very troubled world. And Lady Justice, Lady Justice holds a sword by her side, because she is a fighter, a warrior for the values and the principles that have made this nation great. She holds a scale in her other hand. And with that scale she says all of us are equal in the eyes of God. And so all of us must be equal in the eyes of the law and the government, powerful and powerless alike. And she wears a blindfold. And with that blindfold she is saying to us that it must be true, it can be true that in this country, in this century, it doesn't matter who you are, it doesn't matter what you look like, it doesn't matter how you start, it doesn't matter your circumstances, here in this nation, every American's life must be filled with the possibilities that come from their God-given gifts.
One nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 1
Past experiences: 0
Near Future: 1
Distant Future: 1

Word Count: 231
RN Count: 5
RN: 0.02164502165

Third Debate: Primetime Debate, October 28th, 2015, Boulder CO. Transcript by Time.

 You know, every election we hear a lot of talk. We hear a lot of good plans. We hear actually a lot of good intentions. But somehow **for decades**, nothing really has changed. What we need now is a proven leader **who has produced res**ults. That's how you go **from secretary to CEO.** You lead and you produce results. I will cut this government down to size and hold it accountable, simplify the tax code, roll back the regulations that have been spewing out of Washington, D.C. **for 50 years.**
I may not be your dream candidate just yet, but I can assure you I am Hillary Clinton's worst nightmare. And in your heart of hearts, you cannot wait to see a debate between Hillary Clinton and Carly Fiorina. I will tell you this, I will beat Hillary Clinton. And with your vote and your support and your prayers, I will lead with the citizens of this great nation the resurgence of this great nation.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 4
Near Future: 6

Distant Future:

Word Count: 166
RN Count: 10
RN: 0.06024096386

Fourth Debate: Primetime Debate, November 10th, Milwaukee, WI. Transcript by Fox Business Network.

Imagine a Clinton presidency. Our military will continue to deteriorate. Our veterans will not be cared for. And, no, Mrs. Clinton, that situation is not exaggerated. The rich will get richer. The poor will get poorer. The middle class will continue to get crushed.
And as bad as that picture is, what's even worse is that a Clinton presidency will corrode the character of this nation. Why? Because of the Clinton way: Say whatever you have to, lie as long as you can get away with it.
We must beat Hillary Clinton. Carly Fiorina can beat Hillary Clinton. I will beat Hillary Clinton. And under a President Fiorina, we will restore the character of this nation, the security of this nation, the prosperity of this nation, because as citizens, we will take our government back.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences : 0
Near Future: 11
Distant Future:

Word Count: 137
RN Count: 11
RN: 0.0802919708

Jim Gilmore:

First Debate: Undercard Debate, August 6th, 2015. Cleveland OH. Transcript by Time.

Well, thank you very much, Bill. And, thank you, and Fox and Google for including me in this debate tonight. I think it's been a wonderful opportunity.

I'm the son of a meat cutter. **My father worked** for Safeway stores for 45 years. **My mother was a** secretary, **she ended her** career as the Secretary for the Methodist Bishop. **I didn't have** a father that could give me a million dollar loan to start my business. But, **my father did talk character**, and he **provided** for his family, and **he was** a wonderful example.

And, I'm not about to go across town tonight to carry the coat for some billionaire. Instead, I intend to run for President of the United States, speak to the issue of this international war, and challenge that we're in. This issue of veterans rights, and the issue of Second Amendment rights, and I ask for your support...

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 7
Near Future: 0
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 152
RN Count: 7
RN: 0.04605263158

Lindsay Graham:

Second Debate: Undercard Debate, September 26th, 2015, Simi Valley CA. Transcript by CBS News.

Well, number one, I will win a war that we can't afford to lose. I have a plan to destroy radical Islam because it has to be. These are religious Nazis running while **President Obama has made one mistake** after another and it's caught up with us.

What do I have to offer that's different? I get my foreign policy from **being in on the ground**. I**'ve been to** Iraq and Afghanistan in the Middle East 35 times in the last decade, trying to understand how we got in this mess. Our leading candidate gets his foreign policy from watching television. And what I heard last night is the Cartoon Network, oh, I'm big, I'm strong, we're going to hit them in the head. That's not foreign policy. That's a cartoon character. John Kasich, a good friend of mine, **said in New Hampshire,** we're going to close more bases on his watch. On my watch, we're going to open up more bases. The military is in decline, folks. We're going to have the smallest military in modern times, spending half of what we'd normally spend by the end of this decade. What do I offer? What do I offer? To make your families safe and our country strong again, a vision and a determination to win a war that we cannot afford to lose.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 4
Near Future: 5
Distant Future :0

Word Count: 224
RN Count: 9
RN: 0.04017857143

Third Debate: Undercard Debate, October 28th, 2015, Boulder, CO. Transcript by Time.

Somebody said, or maybe I saw it on the bill of a cap: Let's make America **great again**. America is great.
I intend to make America **strong again.**
I'm going to be the champion of the middle class where I came from. If you make me your President, our best days are ahead. I'm ready to be commander in chief.
Ladies and gentlemen, on day one, I intend to win a war that we cannot afford to lose. **I will be a** commander in chief worthy of sacrifice of those brave Americans who **have been defendin**g our nation. **They have had our bac**k. God knows t**hey have had our ba**ck. I intend to have their back as commander in chief. Make me commander in chief.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 6
Near Future: 3
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 125
RN Count: 9
RN:0.072

40

Mike Huckabee:

First Debate: Primetime Debate, August 6th, 2015, Cleveland OH. Transcript by Rev.

It seems like this election has been a whole lot about a person who's very high in the polls, that doesn't have a clue about how to govern. A person **who has been filled w**ith scandals, and **who could not lead**, and, of course, I'm talking about Hillary Clinton. I think America…is in trouble, but it's not beyond repair. But it's going to take leadership who sees the greatness of this country, and who believes that once again we can be one nation, under God. I'll be my best to do that, and thank you for your support.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past:
Past experiences: 2
Near Future: 1
Distant Future:

Word Count: 98
RN Count: 3
RN:0.0306122449

Second Debate: Undercard Debate, September 26th, 2015, Simi Valley CA. Transcript by CBS News.

At the end of my presidency I would like to believe that the world would be a safe place, and there wouldn't be the threats. not only to the U.S., but to Israel and our allies, because we would have the most incredible well-trained, well-equipped, well- prepared military in the history of mankind. And they would know that the commander-in-chief would never send them to a mission without all the resources necessary, but people wouldn't bully us anymore. Because they would know that that would be an invitation to their destruction.Domestically, we would be operating under a tax system that eliminated the IRS. People wouldn't be punished for their work, and for what they produced.

And life would be really deemed precious. Abortion would be no more. It would be as much of a scourge in our past as slavery is. And we would have a peaceful country, where people respected each other and people respected law enforcement. And we would focus on cures.

And we would make this country not only safe from our enemies without, but safe from the enemies within. And it would be a good place to raise our kids and our grandkids.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 2
Past experiences: 0
Near Future: 21
Distant Future: 1

Word Count: 199
RN Count: 27
RN: 0.135678392

Third Debate: Primetime Debate, October 28th, 2015, Boulder CO. Transcript by Time.

 You know, I know to a lot of people in the media, this is just a great big game, and we're the players. And, we come out here, and we do our thing. And, sometimes we're held up in contempt by people who write columns, but, I guarantee you to every person on this stage there's something deep inside of us that **would cause us to give up our livelihood**s and step out on this stage and fight for the people of America.

I've got five grandkids. <mark>I do not want to walk my five grandkids through the charred remains of a once great country</mark> called America, <mark>and say,</mark> "Here you go, $20 trillion dollars of debt. Good luck making something out of this mess." And, for those of us who are serious enough to run for president, think long and hard why we're here, and hopefully you'll know we're not here for ourselves. We honest to god are here to get this country back on track. I know this, I certainly am.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 1
Near Future: 0
Distant Future: 2

Word Count: 173
RN Count: 5
RN: 0.0289017341

Bobby Jindal:

Second Debate: Undercard Debate, September 26th, 2015, Simi Valley CA. Transcript by CBS News.

Jake, I'm a doer, not a talker. Look, the idea of America is slipping away from us. If you want somebody who is going to manage the slow decline of this country, makes incremental changes, vote for somebody else. If you want to vote for somebody who understands what is at stake -- Planned Parenthood is selling baby parts across this country, and the Senate Republicans have already given up, even without a fight. I am tired of this surrender caucus, I am angrier at the Republicans in D.C. than I am at the president. The president is a socialist. At least he fights for what we believe in. We don't need to just send any Republican to the White House. We need to sent somebody who understands that it's time to make big changes. It's time to take on the establishment, it's time to take on the D.C. permanent governing class. Every Republican says they will shrink the size of the government. I'm the only one **that has done it. Cut our budget** 26 percent. If you want somebody that's going to make incremental change, vote for somebody else. It's time to get the idea of America back. At some point, we're going to be held -- we'll be asked, what did you do when the idea of America was slipping away? I'll promise you this. I will give every ounce of blood, energy, sweat I've got to save the idea of America, the greatest country in the history of the world.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 2
Near Future: 5
Distant Future:

Word Count: 253
RN Count: 7
RN: 0.02766798419

Third Debate: Undercard Debate, October 28th, 2015, Boulder, CO. Transcript by Time.

Our message is to conservatives. This is our hour. Thanks to the insanity, the incompetence of the Democratic Party, the American people are ready to turn our government over to us.
It's not enough to elect just any Republican, however. The reality is, the idea of America is slipping away. As Christians, we believe that the tomb is empty. As Americans, we believe that our best <mark>days are always ahead of us</mark>, and they can be again.
We must win this election. We cannot allow Hillary Clinton to take us down this path towards socialism, further down this path. I've got the courage to apply our conservative principles. I can't do it alone. With your help, with God's grace, we can save the idea of America before it's too late.

42

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 0
Near Future: 0
Distant Future: 1

Word Count: 130
RN Count: 2
RN:0.01538461538

Fourth Debate: Undercard Debate, November 10th, Milwaukee, WI. Transcript by Fox Business Network.

You know, I have spent a lot of time tonight talking about the need to cut the size of government. The reason I'm doing that -- it's not just about balancing the budget, or balancing a bunch of numbers. Because I believe in the American dream. I think President Obama**'s done a lot of damage to** our country. I think that one of the worst thing**s he has done is try** to change the idea of America to be one of dependence.
There are a lot of politicians that talk about cutting government spending, I'm the only one that's actually done it that's running for President.
The rest of them, it's a lot of hot air. If you want your paychecks to go up, if you want more good paying jobs, if you want the government out of your lives, we've got to cut the size of government. It's not enough just to elect any republican, **we've seen tha**t. We've got to elect a republican t<u>hat will take on the </u>establishment in both parties. I'm asking for your support.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 3
Near Future: 1
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 178
RN Count: 4
RN: 0.02247191011

John Kasich:

First Debate: Primetime Debate, August 6th, 2015, Cleveland OH. Transcript by Rev.

You know, tonight we hear about what people want to do. I want to tell you **what I've done.** I **was a** member of the Armed Services Committee for 18 years. I **spent a big ch**unk of my life studying national security issues and our role in the world.
No. 2. **I was the chairman** of the House Budget Committee and one of the chief architects the last time **we balanced a** budget, and **it was the** first time we had done it **since man walked on the moon**. **We had a** $5 trillion surplus and **we cut taxes.**
I spent ten years in the private sector, actually learning how business works. And now I'm the governor of Ohio, and **I inherited a st**ate that was on the brink of dying. And **we turned it all** around with jobs and balanced budgets and rising credit and tax cuts, and the state is unified, and people have hope again in Ohio.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences:: 12

Near Future: 0
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 160
RN Count: 12
RN: 0.075

Second Debate: Primetime Debate, September 26th, 2015, Simi Valley CA. Transcript by Time.

Well, as president, I will make this a nation that will solve problems. And how? By having the elected officials and the leaders realize they're Americans before they're Republicans or Democrats. **I did it** in Washington. **And I've done it in** Ohio by having the elected officials realize that they're Ohioans before anything else.

Secondly, **I will rebuild** the relationships and **show the respect** to our allies around the world. We have no choice but to do that. **We will be** stronger when we are unified. And **we'll fight for** freedom and **for** human rights.

And finally, a little bit of what Carly said. The people that are out there listening, America was never great because we ran America from the top down. America is great because we have run America from the bottom up, where we all live in the neighborhoods.

One more time in America, we need to revive the concept of citizenship, where everybody's actions make a huge difference in changing the world. We have a Holocaust memorial on our state house grounds. And there is one line on there that stands out all the time. "If **you've saved** one life, **you've changed** the world." We need to adopt that as citizens and rebuild and reinspire our country. Thank you.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 3
Past experiences: 8
Near Future: 3
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 213
RN Count: 17
RN: 0.07981220657

Third Debate: Primetime Debate, October 28th, 2015, Boulder CO. Transcript by Time.

I was on morning Joe at a town hall and a young student **stood up** and said, "Can I still be idealistic?"
I said, absolutely, you can still change the world. And, you know the old inscription, if you save one life, you've changed the world. Folks, we have a problem here with the leadership in Washington, but I'll tell you another problem. We need to rebuild our families. We need to have stronger families. We need to know who our neighbors are. We need to come together as a country because we have to realize that America is great, not from the top-down. Oh yeah, we want to elect a good president, but America is great from the bottom-up, and the bottom-up is us in our families, in our communities, in our neighborhoods. We will renew America if we work together, and I am totally confident that we will. And God bless America.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences:2
Near Future: 2
Distant Future: 0

44

Word Count: 154
RN Count: 4
RN: 0.02597402597

George Pataki:

Second Debate: Undercard Debate, September 26th, 2015, Simi Valley CA. Transcript by CBS News.

I think there are two things, Jake. Two things that we need as Republicans. First, we have to win the election. You're going to hear a lot of great ideas, I'm going to do this, I'm going to do that. None of it matters unless you win the election. And the second is, once you win, you have to be able to govern successfully. You've heard a lot of fighting back and forth, **you didn't get this don**e, **you didn't get that don**e. That's the way Washington is today. You have to have a leader, a president, who will actually get a conservative agenda through. I'm running because **I have done both** those things, and **I did them i**n one of the most liberal states in America. **I got elected** three times in the state of New York. **Twice** by the largest pluralities ever for a Republican. **I ran as a** Republican conservative. If I get the nomination, I will be able to get broad support and win this election, and take the White House back for our party. But more importantly, once I've won, I will put in place a sweeping conservative agenda. **I did that** in New York. **Over $143 billio**n in tax cuts. More than the other 49 states combined. **Taking** one million people off welfare and **putting them** into jobs, in a state where the Democrats control the state assembly. **103-47**. **I got them** to support a conservative agenda. If I get elected president, I will make things work in Washington. For the Republican party and for the United States.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 12
Near Future: 6
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 264
RN Count: 18
RN: 0.06818181818

Third Debate: Undercard Debate, October 28th, 2015, Boulder, CO. Transcript by Time.

Thank you for the opportunity to be with this great audience tonight. I'm a limited government conservative. And I mean by that that not just when it comes to economic issues, leaving them to the state, but social issues as well. And in that I differ from every single other candidate seeking the Republican nomination. I take the Tenth Amendment very, very seriously.
I'm a Republican who embraces science and understands we have to work with the next generation of Millennials to have the innovation and technology so that we can grow a 21st century economy.
And I'm a Republican who understands in Washington, when you're a leader, you have to put aside partisan politics to do what's right for the people. We are one America. We work together across party lines. There is no problem we can't solve, and the 21st century will be America's greatest century.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 0
Near Future: 0

Distant Future: 3

Word Count: 148
RN Count: 6
RN: 0.04054054054

Rand Paul:

First Debate: Primetime Debate, August 6th, 2015, Cleveland OH. Transcript by Rev.

 I'm a different kind of Republican. I've **introduced** a five-year balanced budget. I've **introduced** the largest tax cut in our history. I **stood for** ten and a half hours on the Senate floor to defend your right to be left alone. But **I've also gon**e to Chicago. I've **gone** to Detroit. I've b**een to** Ferguson, I've **been to** Baltimore, because I want our party to be bigger, better and bolder, and I'm the only one that leads Hillary Clinton in five states **that were won** by President Obama. I'm a different kind of Republican.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 8
Near Future: 0
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 94
RN Count: 8
RN: 0.08510638298

Second Debate: Primetime Debate, September 26th, 2015, Simi Valley CA. Transcript by Time.

I met Ronald Reagan as a teenager, and my family, **we're big** supporters of him when **he ran** against Gerald Ford. **It was a** big deal because **he was the** grassroots, **running against** the establishment, and I'll never forget that. And, how **he stood up** and **said,** you know what, this is something new that our country needs, and our party needs.

If I were president, I would try to be one who says, you know what, I'm a Reagan Conservative. I'm someone who believes in peace through strength, and I would try to lead the country in that way knowing that our goal is peace, and that war is the last resort, not the first resort. And, that when we go to war, we go to war in a constitutional way, which means that we have to vote on it, that war is initiated by congress, not by the president, that we go to war electively. That when we go to war, we don't fight with one arm tied behind our back, we fight all out to win, but then we come home.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past:
Past experiences: 8
Near Future: 3
Distant Future: 1

Word Count: 184
RN Count: 14
RN: 0.07608695652

46

Third Debate: Primetime Debate, October 28th, 2015, Boulder CO. Transcript by Time.

Liberty thrives when government is small. I want a government so small I can barely see it. I want a government so small that the individual has a chance to thrive and prosper. I think, though, government is too big now. And what you're going to see in Washington this week is establishment Republicans have made an agreement with the president to raise the debt ceiling in an unlimited fashion; no limit to the debt ceiling raise.
This is extraordinary. It's extraordinarily wrong. You'll see me on the floor of the Senate tomorrow filibustering this and saying enough is enough, no more debt.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 0
Near Future: 2
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 103
RN Count: 2
RN: 0.01941747573

Marco Rubio:

First Debate: Primetime Debate, August 6th, 2015, Cleveland OH. Transcript by Rev.

Thank you. You know, both of my parents were born into poor families on the island of Cuba. They came to America because it was the only place where people like them could have a chance. Here in this country, they never made it big, but the very purpose of their life was to give us the chance to do all the things they never could.
My fathe**r was a** bartender. And **the journey from the back of that bar to this stage tonight**, to me, that is the essence of the American dream. It is what makes our nation different. And I'm running for president because I want that to still be possible for the people trying to do that now. I run for president because I believe that we can't just save the American dream; we can expand it to reach more people and change more lives than ever before. And that's why I'm asking for your vote. So we can make America greater than it has ever been. And make this century a new American century.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 7
Past experiences: 2
Near Future: 0
Distant Future: 1

Word Count: 179
RN Count: 18
RN: 0.1005586592

Second Debate: Primetime Debate, September 26th, 2015, Simi Valley CA. Transcript by Time.

One of the things **that made** Ronald Reagan a great president, is that **he understood** that America was a unique nation, like any other that had existed throughout human history. He **knew** it was founded on universal principles that were powerful, the dignity of all people, human rights, the rights of all to live in freedom and liberty, and choose their own path in life. **He didn't just believe** it, **he acted on** it. That's why bringing down communism **was so important** to him. If I'm honored with the opportunity to be president, I hope that our Air Force One will fly, first and foremost, to our allies; in Israel, in South Korea, and Japan. They know we stand with them. That America can be counted on.

It would also fly to China, not just to meet with our enemies, not just to meet with those adversaries of ours that are there, but also to meet with those that aspire to freedom and liberty within China. I would even invite them to my inauguration.

We would also fly into Moscow and into Russia. And not just meet with the leaders of Russia, but also meet with those who aspire to freedom and liberty in Russia. And ultimately, I hope that my Air Force One, if I become president, will one day land in a free Cuba, where its people can choose its leaders and its own destiny.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 4
Past experiences: 6
Near Future: 11
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 237
RN Count: 25
RN: 0.1054852321

Third Debate: Primetime Debate, October 28th, 2015, Boulder CO. Transcript by Time.

You know, America doesn't owe me anything. I have a debt to America I'll never repay. This isn't just the country **I was born i**n, this is the nation that literally changed the history of my family. My parents in this country **were able to give me** the chance to do all the things they never did. We call that the American Dream, although, it's built on the universal dream of a better life.

The fact that it's happened for so many people here throughout our history, that's what makes us special. But, now for millions of Americans, it's slipping away. And, we have a government and leaders in government that are completely out of touch, and that's why I'm running for president. Because we can't just save the American Dream, we can expand it to reach more people, and change more lives than ever before.
And, that's why tonight I'm asking you for your vote.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 4
Past experiences:: 2
Near Future:
Distant Future: 1

Word Count: 156
RN Count: 12
RN: 0.07692307692

Rick Santorum:

Second Debate: Undercard Debate, September 26th, 2015, Simi Valley CA. Transcript by Time.

I came to Washington in the most unlikely way. **I defeated** a 14-year incumbent, a 60 percent Democratic district. **I went t**o Washington thinking **I was only** going to be there for one term, and so I just shook things up.
We sent the chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee to jail. **We ended** 40 years, 40 years of Democratic control of the Congress. **And I led that f**ight with reforms, substantive reforms, welfare reform. **I led the charge** -- I **wrote the bill** when I **was in** the House. **I led the** charge in the United States Senate.

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Partial-birth abortion -- in fact, three pro-life bills, bipartisan pro-life bills**. I mentioned** the Iran bill. We also **passed one** on Syria. Health savings accounts, as many of you know, **I authored** the original bill on health savings accounts, **pushed that through** the Congress for private sector health care reform.

An outsider **who came** to Washington from the tough state of Pennsylvania, and **we got conservative** things done**. I made things** happen in a town where things don't happen very much. Now, after 10 years of **seeing the mess,** the retreat that we see in the Republican party in Washington, D.C., it's time to get someone who is an outsider. Who can go to Washington, D.C., and get things done. You know what, you have a lot of folks who will tell you a lot of things. Look at their record. **I went to Washington** as an outsider. **Shook** things up, **got** things done.

And that's why you can trust me to do it again.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences:: 22
Near Future: 3
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 266
RN Count: 25
RN:0.0977443609

Third Debate: Undercard Debate, October 28th, 2015, Boulder, CO. Transcript by Time.

 I grew up in a steel town in western Pennsylvania, outside of Pittsburgh, and **when I announced** for President, **I announced f**rom a factory floor.
When I talk about making America the number one manufacturer again in the world**,** it's not just talk. When I talk about having the opportunity for people to rise again, it's not just because it polls well.
I represented the old steel valley of Pittsburgh. **I represented** a 70 percent Democratic district and **won with 60 p**ercent of the vote. Why? Becaus**e I aligned myself** with working men and women who feel that neither party and certainly not Washington, D.C., cares about them. You are like me. We will get American workers on the side of the Republican party, and we cannot be stopped if we do.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 7
Near Future: 3
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 133
RN Count: 10
RN: 0.07518796992

Fourth Debate: Undercard Debate, November 10th, Milwaukee, WI. Transcript by Fox Business Network.

 I announced from a factory floor in Western Pennsylvania. This campaign has all been about two words for me, working families. Working. Getting people the opportunity to see those wages rise, to be on the side of the American workers so they can get good paying jobs, and that means we have to start making things in America again. We need a president who's going to not just put policies in place, but is going to stand up at the bully pulpit and talk about the dignity of being a welder. The dignity of being a carpenter, about going to work and earning success.

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And, also, the importance of families, the importance of families and fathers, and mothers raising their children, and committing to that so that they can give children in our country the best opportunity to success. Working families is the key for us to win this election.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences:: 1
Near Future: 1
Distant Future:

Word Count: 150
RN Count: 2
RN:0.01333333333

Donald Trump:

First Debate: Primetime Debate, August 6th, 2015, Cleveland OH. Transcript by Rev.

Our country is in serious trouble. We don't win **anymore.** We don't beat China in trade. We don't beat Japan, with their millions and millions of cars coming into this country, in trade. We can't beat Mexico, at the border or in trade.

We can't do anything right. Our military has to be strengthened. Our vets have to be taken care of. We have to end Obamacare, and we have to make our country great again, and <u>I will do that</u>. Thank you.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 1
Near Future: 1
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 83
RN Count: 2
RN: 0.02409638554

Second Debate: Primetime Debate, September 26th, 2015, Simi Valley CA. Transcript by Time.

 If I become president, we will do something really special. We will make this country greater than ever before. We'll have more jobs. We'll have more of everything.We were discussing disease, we were discussing all sorts of things tonight, many of<u> which will just </u>be words<u>, it will just </u>pass on. I don't want to say politicians, all talk, no action. But a lot of what we talked about is words and<u> it will be </u>forgotten very quickly.If I'm president, many of the things that we discussed tonight<u> will not be forgotten</u>. <u>We'll find</u> solutions. And the world<u> will respect</u> us. They<u> will respect us</u> like never before. And it <u>will be </u>actually a friendlier world. And I have to say, it is a great honor to be here tonight.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 0
Near Future: 12
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 132
RN Count: 12
RN: 0.09090909091

Third Debate: Primetime Debate, October 28th, 2015, Boulder CO. Transcript by Time.

Our country doesn't win anymore. We **used to win**, we don't win anymore. We lose on trade. We lose with ISIS. We lose with one of the worst deals I've ever seen negotiated of any kind, that's our recent catastrophe with Iran. We don't win.

Let me give you one quick example. These folks, CNBC, they had it down at three, three and a half hours. I just read today in the New York Times, $250,000 for a 30 second ad. I went out and said, it's ridiculous. Nobody — I could stand up here all night. Nobody wants to watch three and a half, or three hours. It was a back sacrifice, and I have to hand it to Ben.

We called Ben, he was with me 100%. We called in, we said, that's it. We're not doing it. They lost a lot of money, everybody said it couldn't be done. Everybody said it was going to be three hours, three and a half, including them, and in about two minutes I renegotiated it so we can get the hell out of here. Not bad.

And, I'll do that with the country. We will make America great again. And, thank you everybody. Just for the record.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 1
Near Future: 1
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 208
RN Count: 2
RN: 0.009615384615

Scott Walker:

First Debate: Primetime Debate, August 6th, 2015. Cleveland OH. Transcript by Time.

I'm guy with a wife and two kids, and Harley. One article called me "aggressively normal."**I ran for g**overnor because **I was worried a**bout my kids' future. Then, **I took on the** big government union bosses, and **we won**. They **tried to r**ecall me, and **we won.** They **target u**s again, and **we won.** We **balanced** the budget, cut taxes, and **turned** our state around with big, bold reforms. **It wasn't too late** for Wisconsin, and it's not too late for America. That's why I ask for your vote.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 11
Near Future: 0
Distant Future: 1

Word Count: 90
RN Count: 13
RN: 0.1444444444

Second Debate: Primetime Debate, September 26th, 2015, Simi Valley CA. Transcript by Time.

Well, **I turned** 13 years old two days before Ronald Reagan **was first elected.** A lot of people forget this, but just a few days before that election 1980, h**e was behind** in the polls.

And I think **what changed things** was people in America **realized** they **didn't want** to hear what was bad about America, **they wanted to know** how it was going to be better. Ronald Reagan **wasn't** just a conservative Republican, he **was an** eternal optimist in the American people.

And I am too. So here's what I think will make America better. We need to live in a world where our children are free, are free from the threats of radical Islamic terrorism.

We need to live in an America where we have an economy, where everyone can live their piece of the American dream, no matter what that dream is. And we need to live in an America where we have a federal government that is not too big to fail, but ultimately small enough to succeed, where we send powers back to the states and back to the people.

That's **what I did in** Wisconsin. We **took on** the big government union bosses, the big government special interests, many of whom **came in** from Washington, **to spend** millions of dollars to try and take me out because **we stood up** to them, **we didn't back** down in any of those instances.

If you give me the chance as your next president, I won't back down any day, anyway, anyhow. I'll fight and win for you and your families every single day I'm in office.

Relative Narrativity:
Distant Past: 0
Past experiences: 15
Near Future: 10
Distant Future: 0

Word Count: 266
RN Count: 25
RN: 0.09398496241

Appendix 4: Biden Convention Speech Transcripts[3]

Clean:

Good evening.
Ella Baker, a giant of the civil rights movement, left us with this wisdom: Give people light and they will find a way. Give people light.
Those are words for our time.
The current president has cloaked America in darkness for much too long. Too much anger. Too much fear. Too much division.
Here and now, I give you my word: If you entrust me with the presidency, I will draw on the best of us not the worst. I will be an ally of the light not of the darkness.
It's time for us, for We the People, to come together.
For make no mistake. United we can, and will, overcome this season of darkness in America. We will choose hope over fear, facts over fiction, fairness over privilege.
I am a proud Democrat and I will be proud to carry the banner of our party into the general election. So, it is with great honor and humility that I accept this nomination for President of the United States of America.
But while I will be a Democratic candidate, I will be an American president. I will work as hard for those who didn't support me as I will for those who did.
That's the job of a president. To represent all of us, not just our base or our party. This is not a partisan moment. This must be an American moment.

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[3] "Joe Biden 2020 DNC Speech Transcript." 2020. *Rev*. https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/joe-biden-2020-dnc-speech-transcript.

It's a moment that calls for hope and light and love. Hope for our futures, light to see our way forward, and love for one another.

America isn't just a collection of clashing interests of Red States or Blue States.

We're so much bigger than that.

We're so much better than that.

Nearly a century ago, Franklin Roosevelt pledged a New Deal in a time of massive unemployment, uncertainty, and fear.

Stricken by disease, stricken by a virus, FDR insisted that he would recover and prevail and he believed America could as well.

And he did.

And so can we.

This campaign isn't just about winning votes.

It's about winning the heart, and yes, the soul of America.

Winning it for the generous among us, not the selfish. Winning it for the workers who keep this country going, not just the privileged few at the top. oFor all the young people who have known only an America of rising inequity and shrinking opportunity.

They deserve to experience America's promise in full.

No generation ever knows what history will ask of it. All we can ever know is whether we'll be ready when that moment arrives.

And now history has delivered us to one of the most difficult moments America has ever faced.

Four historic crises. All at the same time. A perfect storm.

The worst pandemic in over 100 years. The worst economic crisis since the Great Depression.

The most compelling call for racial justice since the 60's. And the undeniable realities and accelerating threats of climate change.

So, the question for us is simple: Are we ready?

I believe we are.

We must be.

All elections are important. But we know in our bones this one is more consequential.

America is at an inflection point. A time of real peril, but of extraordinary possibilities.

We can choose the path of becoming angrier, less hopeful, and more divided.

A path of shadow and suspicion.

Or we can choose a different path, and together, take this chance to heal, to be reborn, to unite. A path of hope and light.

This is a life-changing election that will determine America's future for a very long time.

Character is on the ballot. Compassion is on the ballot. Decency, science, democracy.

They are all on the ballot.

Who we are as a nation. What we stand for. And, most importantly, who we want to be.

That's all on the ballot.

And the choice could not be clearer.

No rhetoric is needed.

Just judge this president on the facts.

5 million Americans infected with COVID-19.

More than 170,000 Americans have died.

By far the worst performance of any nation on Earth.

More than 50 million people have filed for unemployment this year.

More than 10 million people are going to lose their health insurance this year.

Nearly one in 6 small businesses have closed this year.

If this president is re-elected we know what will happen.

Cases and deaths will remain far too high.

More mom and pop businesses will close their doors for good.

Working families will struggle to get by, and yet, the wealthiest one percent will get tens of billions of dollars in new tax breaks.

And the assault on the Affordable Care Act will continue until its destroyed, taking insurance away from more than 20 million people -- including more than 15 million people on Medicaid -- and getting rid of the protections that President Obama and I passed for people who suffer from a pre-existing condition.

And speaking of President Obama, a man I was honored to serve alongside for 8 years as Vice President. Let me take this moment to say something we don't say nearly enough.

Thank you, Mr. President. You were a great president. A president our children could -- and did -- look up to.

No one will say that about the current occupant of the office.

What we know about this president is if he's given four more years he will be what he's been the last four years.

A president who takes no responsibility, refuses to lead, blames others, cozies up to dictators, and fans the flames of hate and division.

He will wake up every day believing the job is all about him. Never about you.

Is that the America you want for you, your family, your children?

I see a different America.

One that is generous and strong.

Selfless and humble.

It's an America we can rebuild together.

As president, the first step I will take will be to get control of the virus that's ruined so many lives.

Because I understand something this president doesn't.

We will never get our economy back on track, we will never get our kids safely back to school, we will never have our lives back, until we deal with this virus.

The tragedy of where we are today is it didn't have to be this bad.

Just look around.

It's not this bad in Canada. Or Europe. Or Japan. Or almost anywhere else in the world.

The President keeps telling us the virus is going to disappear. He keeps waiting for a miracle. Well, I have news for him, no miracle is coming.

We lead the world in confirmed cases. We lead the world in deaths.

Our economy is in tatters, with Black, Latino, Asian American, and Native American communities bearing the brunt of it.

And after all this time, the president still does not have a plan.

Well, I do.

If I'm president on day one we'll implement the national strategy I've been laying out since March.

We'll develop and deploy rapid tests with results available immediately.

We'll make the medical supplies and protective equipment our country needs. And we'll make them here in America.

So we will never again be at the mercy of China and other foreign countries in order to protect our own people.

We'll make sure our schools have the resources they need to be open, safe, and effective.

We'll put the politics aside and take the muzzle off our experts so the public gets the information they need and deserve. The honest, unvarnished truth. They can deal with that.

We'll have a national mandate to wear a mask-not as a burden, but to protect each other.

It's a patriotic duty.

In short, I will do what we should have done from the very beginning.

Our current president has failed in his most basic duty to this nation.

He failed to protect us.

He failed to protect America.

And, my fellow Americans, that is unforgivable.

As president, I will make you this promise: I will protect America. I will defend us from every attack. Seen. And unseen. Always. Without exception. Every time.

Look, I understand it's hard to have hope right now.

On this summer night, let me take a moment to speak to those of you who have lost the most.

I know how it feels to lose someone you love. I know that deep black hole that opens up in your chest. That you feel your whole being is sucked in?to it. I know how mean and cruel and unfair life can be sometimes.

But I've learned two things.

First, your loved ones may have left this Earth but they never leave your heart. They will always be with you.

And second, I found the best way through pain and loss and grief is to find purpose.

As God's children each of us have a purpose in our lives.

And we have a great purpose as a nation: To open the doors of opportunity to all Americans. To save our democracy. To be a light to the world once again.

To finally live up to and make real the words written in the sacred documents that founded this nation that all men and women are created equal. Endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights. Among them life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

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You know, my Dad was an honorable, decent man.

He got knocked down a few times pretty hard, but always got up.

He worked hard and built a great middle-class life for our family.

He used to say, "Joey, I don't expect the government to solve my problems, but I expect it to understand them."

And then he would say: "Joey, a job is about a lot more than a paycheck. It's about your dignity. It's about respect. It's about your place in your community. It's about looking your kids in the eye and say, honey, it's going to be okay."

I've never forgotten those lessons.

That's why my economic plan is all about jobs, dignity, respect, and community. Together, we can, and we will, rebuild our economy. And when we do, we'll not only build it back, we'll build it back better.

With modern roads, bridges, highways, broadband, ports and airports as a new foundation for economic growth. With pipes that transport clean water to every community. With 5 million new manufacturing and technology jobs so the future is made in America.

With a health care system that lowers premiums, deductibles, and drug prices by building on the Affordable Care Act he's trying to rip away.

With an education system that trains our people for the best jobs of the 21st century, where cost doesn't prevent young people from going to college, and student debt doesn't crush them when they get out.

With child care and elder care that make it possible for parents to go to work and for the elderly to stay in their homes with dignity. With an immigration system that powers our economy and reflects our values. With newly empowered labor unions. With equal pay for women. With rising wages you can raise a family on. Yes, we're going to do more than praise our essential workers. We're finally going to pay them.

We can, and we will, deal with climate change. It's not only a crisis, it's an enormous opportunity. An opportunity for America to lead the world in clean energy and create millions of new good-paying jobs in the process.

And we can pay for these investments by ending loopholes and the president's $1.3 trillion tax giveaway to the wealthiest 1 percent and the biggest, most profitable corporations, some of which pay no tax at all.

Because we don't need a tax code that rewards wealth more than it rewards work. I'm not looking to punish anyone. Far from it. But it's long past time the wealthiest people and the biggest corporations in this country paid their fair share.

For our seniors, Social Security is a sacred obligation, a sacred promise made. The current president is threatening to break that promise. He's proposing to eliminate the tax that pays for almost half of Social Security without any way of making up for that lost revenue.

I will not let it happen. If I'm your president, we're going to protect Social Security and Medicare. You have my word.

One of the most powerful voices we hear in the country today is from our young people. They're speaking to the inequity and injustice that has grown up in America. Economic injustice. Racial injustice. Environmental injustice. I hear their voices and if you listen, you can hear them too. And whether it's the existential threat posed by climate change, the daily fear of being gunned down in school, or the inability to get started in their first job — it will be the work of the next president to restore the promise of America to everyone.

I won't have to do it alone. Because I will have a great Vice President at my side. Senator Kamala Harris. She is a powerful voice for this nation. Her story is the American story. She knows about all the obstacles thrown in the way of so many in our country. Women, Black women, Black Americans, South Asian Americans, immigrants, the left-out and left-behind.

But she's overcome every obstacle she's ever faced. No one's been tougher on the big banks or the gun lobby. No one's been tougher in calling out this current administration for its extremism, its failure to follow the law, and its failure to simply tell the truth.

Kamala and I both draw strength from our families. For Kamala, it's Doug and their families.

For me, it's Jill and ours.

No man deserves one great love in his life. But I've known two. After losing my first wife in a car accident, Jill came into my life and put our family back together.

She's an educator. A mom. A military Mom. And an unstoppable force. If she puts her mind to it, just get out of the way. Because she's going to get it done. She was a great Second Lady and she will make a great First Lady for this nation, she loves this country so much.

And I will have the strength that can only come from family. Hunter, Ashley and all our grandchildren, my brothers, my sister. They give me courage and lift me up.

And while he is no longer with us, Beau inspires me every day.

Beau served our nation in uniform. A decorated Iraq war veteran.

So I take very personally the profound responsibility of serving as Commander in Chief.
I will be a president who will stand with our allies and friends. I will make it clear to our adversaries the days of cozying up to dictators are over.
Under President Biden, America will not turn a blind eye to Russian bounties on the heads of American soldiers.
Nor will I put up with foreign interference in our most sacred democratic exercise -- voting.
I will stand always for our values of human rights and dignity. And I will work in common purpose for a more secure, peaceful, and prosperous world.
History has thrust one more urgent task on us. Will we be the generation that finally wipes the stain of racism from our national character?
I believe we're up to it.
I believe we're ready.
Just a week ago yesterday was the third anniversary of the events in Charlottesville.
Remember seeing those neo-Nazis and Klansmen and white supremacists coming out of the fields with lighted torches? Veins bulging? Spewing the same anti-Semitic bile heard across Europe in the '30s?
Remember the violent clash that ensued between those spreading hate and those with the courage to stand against it?
Remember what the president said?
There were quote, "very fine people on both sides."
It was a wake-up call for us as a country.
And for me, a call to action. At that moment, I knew I'd have to run. My father taught us that silence was complicity.
And I could not remain silent or complicit.
At the time, I said we were in a battle for the soul of this nation.
And we are.
One of the most important conversations I've had this entire campaign is with someone who is too young to vote.
I met with six-year old Gianna Floyd, a day before her Daddy George Floyd was laid to rest.
She is incredibly brave.
I'll never forget.
When I leaned down to speak with her, she looked into my eyes and said "Daddy, changed the world."
Her words burrowed deep into my heart.
Maybe George Floyd's murder was the breaking point.
Maybe John Lewis' passing the inspiration.
However it has come to be, America is ready to in John's words, to lay down "the heavy burdens of hate at last" and to do the hard work of rooting out our systemic racism.
America's history tells us that it has been in our darkest moments that we've made our greatest progress. That we've found the light. And in this dark moment, I believe we are poised to make great progress again. That we can find the light once more.
I have always believed you can define America in one word: Possibilities.
That in America, everyone, and I mean everyone, should be given the opportunity to go as far as their dreams and God-given ability will take them.
We can never lose that. In times as challenging as these, I believe there is only one way forward. As a united America. United in our pursuit of a more perfect Union. United in our dreams of a better future for us and for our children. United in our determination to make the coming years bright.
Are we ready?
I believe we are.
This is a great nation.
And we are a good and decent people.
This is the United States of America.
And there has never been anything we've been unable to accomplish when we've done it together.
The Irish poet Seamus Heaney once wrote:
"History says,
Don't hope on this side of the grave,
But then, once in a lifetime
The longed-for tidal wave
Of justice can rise up,
And hope and history rhyme"
This is our moment to make hope and history rhyme.

With passion and purpose, let us begin -- you and I together, one nation, under God -- united in our love for America and united in our love for each other.
For love is more powerful than hate.
Hope is more powerful than fear.
Light is more powerful than dark.
This is our moment.
This is our mission.
May history be able to say that the end of this chapter of American darkness began here tonight as love and hope and light joined in the battle for the soul of the nation.
And this is a battle that we, together, will win.
I promise you.
Thank you.
And may God bless you.
And may God protect our troops.

Temporal Coding:

Relative Narrative Coding:
<u>Underline</u> = distant past
<mark style="background:cyan">Blue Highlight</mark> = past experiences
Bold = near future
<mark style="background:yellow">Yellow highlight</mark> = distant future

Good evening.
Ella Baker, a giant of the civil rights movement, left us with this wisdom: Give people light and they will find a way. Give people light.
Those are words for our time.
The current president has cloaked America in darkness for much too long. Too much anger. Too much fear. Too much division.
Here and now, I give you my word: If you entrust me with the presidency, **I will draw** on the best of us not the worst. **I will be** an ally of the light not of the darkness.
It's time for us, for We the People, to come together.
For make no mistake. **United we can, and will,** overcome this season of darkness in America. **We will** choose hope over fear, facts over fiction, fairness over privilege.
I am a proud Democrat and **I will** be proud to carry the banner of our party into the general election. So, it is with great honor and humility that I accept this nomination for President of the United States of America.
But while **I will be a** Democratic candidate, **I will** be an American president. **I will** work as hard for those who didn't support me as I will for those who did.
That's the job of a president. To represent all of us, not just our base or our party. This is not a partisan moment. This must be an American moment.
It's a moment that calls for hope and light and love. Hope for our futures, light to see our way forward, and love for one another.
America isn't just a collection of clashing interests of Red States or Blue States.
We're so much bigger than that.
We're so much better than that.
Nearly a century ago, <u>Franklin Roosevelt pledged a New Deal</u> in a time of massive unemployment, uncertainty, and fear.
Stricken by disease, stricken by a virus, <u>FDR insisted that he would recover</u> and prevail and he believed America could as well.
And <u>he did.</u>
And **so can we.**
This campaign isn't just about winning votes.
It's about winning the heart, and yes, the soul of America.

Winning it for the generous among us, not the selfish. Winning it for the workers who keep this country going, not just the privileged few at the top. Winning it for those communities who have known the injustice of the "knee on the neck". For all the young people who have known only an America of rising inequity and shrinking opportunity. They deserve to experience America's promise in full.

No generation ever knows what history will ask of it. All we can ever know is whether we'll be ready when that moment arrives.

And now history has delivered us to one of the most difficult moments America has ever faced.

Four historic crises. All at the same time. A perfect storm.

The worst pandemic in over 100 years. The worst economic crisis since the Great Depression.

The most *compelling call for racial justice since the 60's.* And the undeniable realities and accelerating threats of climate change.

So, the question for us is simple: Are we ready?

I believe we are.

We must be.

All elections are important. But we know in our bones this one is more consequential.

America is at an inflection point. A time of real peril, but of extraordinary possibilities.

We can choose the path of becoming angrier, less hopeful, and more divided.

A path of shadow and suspicion.

Or we can choose a different path, and together, take this chance to heal, to be reborn, to unite. A path of hope and light.

This is a life-changing election that will determine America's future for a very long time.

Character is on the ballot. Compassion is on the ballot. Decency, science, democracy.

They are all on the ballot.

Who we are as a nation. What we stand for. And, most importantly, who we want to be.

That's all on the ballot.

And the choice could not be clearer.

No rhetoric is needed.

Just judge this president on the facts.

5 million Americans infected with COVID-19.

More than 170,000 Americans have died.

By far the worst performance of any nation on Earth.

More than 50 million people have filed for unemployment this year.

More than 10 million people are going to lose their health insurance this year.

Nearly one in 6 small businesses have closed this year.

If this president is re-elected we know what will happen.

Cases and deaths will remain far too high.

More mom and pop businesses will close their doors for good.

Working families will struggle to get by, and yet, **the wealthiest one percent will get tens of billions of dollars in new tax breaks.**

And **the assault on the Affordable Care Act will continue until its destroyed,** taking insurance away from more than 20 million people -- including more than 15 million people on Medicaid -- and getting rid of the protections that President Obama and I passed for people who suffer from a pre-existing condition.

And speaking of President Obama, a man I was honored to serve alongside for 8 years as Vice President. Let me take this moment to say something we don't say nearly enough.

Thank you, Mr. President. You were a great president. A president our children could -- and did -- look up to.

No one will say that about the current occupant of the office.

What we know about this president is if he's given four more years **he will be** what he's been the last four years.

A president who takes no responsibility, refuses to lead, blames others, cozies up to dictators, and fans the flames of hate and division.

He will wake up every day believing the job is all about him. Never about you.

Is that the America you want for you, your family, your children?

I see a different America.

One that is generous and strong.

Selfless and humble.

It's an America we can rebuild together.

As president, **the first step I will take will be to get control of the virus** that's ruined so many lives.

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Because I understand something this president doesn't.

We will never get our economy back on track, **we will never** get our kids safely back to school, **we will never h**ave our lives back, until we deal with this virus.

The tragedy of where we are today is it didn't have to be this bad.

Just look around.

It's not this bad in Canada. Or Europe. Or Japan. Or almost anywhere else in the world.

The President keeps telling us the virus is going to disappear. He keeps waiting for a miracle. Well, I have news for him, no miracle is coming.

We lead the world in confirmed cases. We lead the world in deaths.

Our economy is in tatters, with Black, Latino, Asian American, and Native American communities bearing the brunt of it.

And after all this time, the president still does not have a plan.

Well, I do.

If I'm president on day one **we'll implement the natio**nal strategy I've been laying out since March.

We'll develop and deploy rapid tests with results available immediately.

We'll make the medical supplies and protective equipment our country needs. And **we'll make them** here in America. So **we will never again** be at the mercy of China and other foreign countries in order to protect our own people.

We'll make sure our schools have the resources they need to be open, safe, and effective.

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We'll have a national mandate to wear a mask-not as a burden, but to protect each other.

It's a patriotic duty.

In short, **I will do what** we should have done from the very beginning.

Our current president has failed in his most basic duty to this nation.

He failed to protect us.

He failed to protect America.

And, my fellow Americans, that is unforgivable.

As president, **I will make** you this promise: **I will** protect America. **I will** defend us from every attack. Seen. And unseen. Always. Without exception. Every time.

Look, I understand it's hard to have hope right now.

On this summer night, let me take a moment to speak to those of you who have lost the most.

I know how it feels to lose someone you love. I know that deep black hole that opens up in your chest. That you feel your whole being is sucked into it. I know how mean and cruel and unfair life can be sometimes.

But I've learned two things.

First, your loved ones may have left this Earth but they never leave your heart. They will always be with you.

And second, I found the best way through pain and loss and grief is to find purpose.

As God's children each of us have a purpose in our lives.

And we have a great purpose as a nation: To open the doors of opportunity to all Americans. To save our democracy. To be a light to the world once again.

To finally live up to and make real the words written in the sacred documents that founded this nation that all men and women are created equal. Endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights. Among them life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

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With pipes **that transport clean water** to every community. With 5 million new manufacturing and technology jobs so **the future is made in America.**

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With child care and elder care that make it possible **for parents to go to work** and f**or the elderly to stay in their homes with dignity**. With an i**mmigration system that powers** our economy and reflects our values. **With newly empowered** labor unions. With **equal pay for wome**n. **With rising wages you can raise a family** on. Yes, we're going to do more than praise our essential workers. **We're finally going to pay them.**

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And **we can pay** for these investments by ending loopholes and the president's $1.3 trillion tax giveaway to the wealthiest 1 percent and the biggest, most profitable corporations, some of which pay no tax at all.

Because we don't need a tax code that rewards wealth more than it rewards work. I'm not looking to punish anyone. Far from it. But it's long past time the wealthiest people and the biggest corporations in this country paid their fair share.

For our seniors, Social Security is a sacred obligation, a sacred promise made. The current president is threatening to break that promise. He's proposing to eliminate the tax that pays for almost half of Social Security without any way of making up for that lost revenue.

I will not let it happen. If I'm your president, **we're going** to protect Social Security and Medicare. You have my word.

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I won't have to do it alone. Because **I will** have a great Vice President at my side. Senator Kamala Harris. She is a powerful voice for this nation. Her story is the American story. She knows about all the obstacles thrown in the way of so many in our country. Women, Black women, Black Americans, South Asian Americans, immigrants, the left-out and left-behind.

But she's overcome every obstacle she's ever faced. No one's been tougher on the big banks or the gun lobby. No one's been tougher in calling out this current administration for its extremism, its failure to follow the law, and its failure to simply tell the truth.

Kamala and I both draw strength from our families. For Kamala, it's Doug and their families.

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No man deserves one great love in his life. But I've known two. After losing my first wife in a car accident, Jill came into my life and put our family back together.

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And while he is no longer with us, Beau inspires me every day.

Beau served our nation in uniform. A decorated Iraq war veteran.

So I take very personally the profound responsibility of serving as Commander in Chief.

I will be a president who will stand with our allies and friends. **I will make** it clear to our adversaries the days of cozying up to dictators are over.

Under President Biden, America **will not** turn a blind eye to Russian bounties on the heads of American soldiers. Nor **will I put** up with foreign interference in our most sacred democratic exercise -- voting.

I will stand always for our values of human rights and dignity. And **I will work** in common purpose for a more secure, peaceful, and prosperous world.

History has thrust one more urgent task on us. **Will we be the generation** that finally wipes the stain of racism from our national character?

I believe we're up to it.

I believe we're ready.

Just a week ago yesterday was the third anniversary of the events in Charlottesville.

Remember seeing those neo-Nazis and Klansmen and white supremacists coming out of the fields with lighted torches? Veins bulging? Spewing the same anti-Semitic bile heard across Europe in the '30s?

Remember the violent clash that ensued between those spreading hate and those with the courage to stand against it?

Remember what the president said?

There were quote, "very fine people on both sides."

It was a wake-up call for us as a country.

And for me, a call to action. At that moment, I knew I'd have to run. My father taught us that silence was complicity. And I could not remain silent or complicit.

At the time, I said we were in a battle for the soul of this nation.

And we are.

One of the most important conversations I've had this entire campaign is with someone who is too young to vote.

I met with six-year old Gianna Floyd, a day before her Daddy George Floyd was laid to rest.

She is incredibly brave.

I'll never forget.

When I leaned down to speak with her, she looked into my eyes and said "Daddy, changed the world."

Her words burrowed deep into my heart.

Maybe George Floyd's murder was the breaking point.

Maybe John Lewis' passing the inspiration.

However it has come to be, America is ready to in John's words, to lay down "the heavy burdens of hate at last" and to do the hard work of rooting out our systemic racism.

America's history tells us that it has been in our darkest moments that we've made our greatest progress. That we've found the light. And in this dark moment, I believe we are poised to make great progress again. That we can find the light once more.

I have always believed you can define America in one word: Possibilities.

That in America, everyone, and I mean everyone, should be given the opportunity to go as far as their dreams and God-given ability will take them.

We can never lose that. In times as challenging as these, I believe there is only one way forward. As a united America. United in our pursuit of a more perfect Union. United in our dreams of a better future for us and for our children. United in our determination to **make the coming years bright.**

Are we ready?

I believe we are.

This is a great nation.

And we are a good and decent people.

This is the United States of America.

And there has never been anything we've been unable to accomplish when we've done it together.

The Irish poet Seamus Heaney once wrote:

"History says,

Don't hope on this side of the grave,

But then, once in a lifetime

The longed-for tidal wave

Of justice can rise up,

And hope and history rhyme"

This is our moment to make hope and history rhyme.

With passion and purpose, **let us begin** -- you and I together, one nation, under God -- united in our love for America and united in our love for each other.

For love is more powerful than hate.

Hope is more powerful than fear.

Light is more powerful than dark.

This is our moment.

This is our mission.

May history be able to say that the end of this chapter of American darkness began here tonight as love and hope and light joined in the battle for the soul of the nation.

And this is a battle that we, together, will win.

I promise you.

Thank you.

And may God bless you.

And may God protect our troops.

Appendix 5: Trump Speeches (Clean, Temporal Coding, Rhetorical Coding)[4]

Clean:

Friends, delegates, and distinguished guests: I stand before you tonight honored by your support; proud of the extraordinary progress we have made together over the last four years; and brimming with confidence in the bright future we will build for America over the NEXT four years!

As we begin this evening, our thoughts are with the wonderful people who have just come through the wrath of Hurricane Laura. We are working closely with state and local officials in Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Mississippi, sparing no effort to save lives. While the hurricane was fierce, one of the strongest to make landfall in 150 years, the casualties and damage were far less than thought possible only 24 hours ago. This is due to the great work of FEMA, law enforcement, and the individual states. I will be going this weekend. We are one national family, and we will always protect, love and care for each other.

Here tonight are the people who have made my journey possible, and filled my life with so much joy.

For her incredible service to our nation and its children, I want to thank our magnificent First Lady. I also want to thank my amazing daughter Ivanka for that introduction, and to all of my children and grandchildren -- I love you more than words can express. I know my brother Robert is looking down on us right now from Heaven. He was a great brother and was very proud of the job we are doing. Let us also take a moment to show our profound appreciation for a man who has always fought by our side, and stood up for our values -- a man of deep faith and steadfast conviction: Vice President Mike Pence. Mike is joined by his beloved wife, a teacher and military mom, Karen Pence.

My fellow Americans, tonight, with a heart full of gratitude and boundless optimism, I proudly accept this nomination for President of the United States.

The Republican Party, the party of Abraham Lincoln, goes forward united, determined, and ready to welcome millions of Democrats, Independents, and anyone who believes in the GREATNESS of America and the righteous heart of the American People.

In a new term as President, we will again build the greatest economy in history -- quickly returning to full employment, soaring incomes, and RECORD prosperity! We will DEFEND AMERICA against all threats, and protect America against all dangers. We will LEAD AMERICA into new frontiers of ambition and discovery, and we will reach for new heights of national achievement. We will rekindle new faith in our values, new pride in our history, and a new spirit of unity that can ONLY be realized through love for our country. Because we understand that America is NOT a land cloaked in darkness, America is the torch that enlightens the entire world.

Gathered here at our beautiful and majestic White House -- known all over the world as the People's House -- we cannot help but marvel at the miracle that is our Great American Story. This has been the home of larger-than-life figures like Teddy Roosevelt and Andrew Jackson who rallied Americans to bold visions of a bigger and brighter future. Within these walls lived tenacious generals like Presidents Grant and Eisenhower who led our soldiers in the cause of freedom. From these grounds, Thomas Jefferson sent Lewis and Clark on a daring expedition to cross a wild and uncharted continent. In the depths of a bloody Civil War, President Abraham Lincoln looked out these very windows upon a half-completed Washington Monument -- and asked God, in His Providence, to save our union. Two weeks after Pearl Harbor, Franklin Delano Roosevelt welcomed Winston Churchill, and just inside, they set our people on a course to victory in the Second World War.

In recent months, our nation, and the entire planet, has been struck by a new and powerful invisible enemy. Like those brave Americans before us, we are meeting this challenge. We are delivering lifesaving therapies, and will produce a vaccine BEFORE the end of the year, or maybe even sooner! We will defeat THE VIRUS, end the pandemic, and emerge stronger than ever before.

What united generations past was an unshakable confidence in America's destiny, and an unbreakable faith in the American People. They knew that our country is blessed by God, and has a special purpose in this world. It is that

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[4] "Donald Trump 2020 RNC Speech Transcript August 24." 2020. *Rev.* https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/donald-trump-2020-rnc-speech-transcript-august-24.

conviction that inspired the formation of our union, our westward expansion, the abolition of slavery, the passage of civil rights, the space program, and the overthrow of fascism, tyranny and communism.

This towering American spirit has prevailed over every challenge, and lifted us to the summit of human endeavor. And yet, despite all of our greatness as a nation, everything we have achieved is now endangered. This is the most important election in the history of our country. At no time before have voters faced a clearer choice between two parties, two visions, two philosophies, or two agendas.

This election will decide whether we SAVE the American Dream, or whether we allow a socialist agenda to DEMOLISH our cherished destiny.

It will decide whether we rapidly create millions of high paying jobs, or whether we crush our industries and send millions of these jobs overseas, as has foolishly been done for many decades.

Your vote will decide whether we protect law abiding Americans, or whether we give free reign to violent anarchists, agitators, and criminals who threaten our citizens.

And this election will decide whether we will defend the American Way of Life, or whether we allow a radical movement to completely dismantle and destroy it.

At the Democrat National Convention, Joe Biden and his party repeatedly assailed America as a land of racial, economic, and social injustice. So tonight, I ask you a very simple question: How can the Democrat Party ask to lead our country when it spends so much time tearing down our country?

In the left's backward view, they do not see America as the most free, just, and exceptional nation on earth. Instead, they see a wicked nation that must be punished for its sins.

Our opponents say that redemption for YOU can only come from giving power to THEM. This is a tired anthem spoken by every repressive movement throughout history.

But in this country, we don't look to career politicians for salvation. In America, we don't turn to government to restore our souls -- we put our faith in Almighty God.

Joe Biden is not the savior of America's soul -- he is the destroyer of America's Jobs, and if given the chance, he will be the destroyer of American Greatness.

For 47 years, Joe Biden took the donations of blue collar workers, gave them hugs and even kisses, and told them he felt their pain -- and then he flew back to Washington and voted to ship their jobs to China and many other distant lands. Joe Biden spent his entire career outsourcing the dreams of American Workers, offshoring their jobs, opening their borders, and sending their sons and daughters to fight in endless foreign wars.

Four years ago, I ran for President because I could not watch this betrayal of our country any longer. I could not sit by as career politicians let other countries take advantage of us on trade, borders, foreign policy and national defense. Our NATO partners, as an example, were far behind in their defense payments. But at my strong urging, they agreed to pay $130 billion more a year. This will ultimately go to $400 billion. Secretary General Stoltenberg, who heads NATO, was amazed, and said that President Trump did what no one else was able to do.

From the moment I left my former life behind, and a good life it was, I have done nothing but fight for YOU.

I did what our political establishment never expected and could never forgive, breaking the cardinal rule of Washington Politics. I KEPT MY PROMISES.

Together, we have ended the rule of the failed political class -- and they are desperate to get their power back by any means necessary. They are angry at me because instead of putting THEM FIRST, I put AMERICA FIRST!

Days after taking office, we shocked the Washington Establishment and withdrew from the last Administration's job-killing Trans Pacific Partnership. I then approved the Keystone XL and Dakota Access Pipelines, ended the unfair and costly Paris Climate Accord, and secured, for the first time, American Energy Independence. We passed record-setting tax and regulation cuts, at a rate nobody had ever seen before. Within three short years, we built the strongest economy in the history of the world.

Washington insiders asked me NOT to stand up to China -- they pleaded with me to let China continue stealing our jobs, ripping us off, and robbing our country blind. But I kept my word to the American People. We took the toughest, boldest, strongest, and hardest hitting action against China in American History.

They said that it would be impossible to terminate and replace NAFTA -- but again, they were wrong. Earlier this year, I ended the NAFTA nightmare and signed the brand new U.S. Mexico Canada Agreement into law. Now auto companies and others are building their plants and factories in America, not firing their employees and deserting us.

In perhaps no area did the Washington special interests try harder to stop us than on my policy of pro-American immigration. But I refused to back down -- and today America's borders are more secure than EVER before. We ENDED catch-and-release, stopped asylum fraud, took down human traffickers who prey on women and children, and we have deported 20,000 Gang Members and 500,000 Criminal Aliens. We have already built 300 miles of Border Wall -- and we are adding 10 new miles every single week. The Wall will soon be complete, and it is working beyond our wildest expectations.

We are joined this evening by members of the Border Patrol union, representing our country's courageous border agents. Thank you all.

When I learned that the Tennessee Valley Authority laid off hundreds of American Workers and forced them to train their lower-paid foreign replacements, I promptly removed the Chairman of the Board. And now, those talented American Workers have been RE-HIRED and are back providing power to Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Virginia. They have their old jobs back, and some are here with us this evening. Please stand.

Last month, I took on Big Pharma and signed orders that will massively lower the cost of your prescription drugs, and to give critically ill patients access to lifesaving cures, we passed the decades long-awaited RIGHT TO TRY legislation. We also passed VA Accountability and VA Choice.

By the end of my first term, we will have approved more than 300 federal judges, including two great new Supreme Court Justices. To bring prosperity to our forgotten inner cities, we worked hard to pass historic criminal justice reform, prison reform, opportunity zones, the long-term funding of historically black colleges and universities, and, before the China Virus came in, produced the best unemployment numbers for African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, and Asian-Americans ever recorded. I have done more for the African-American community than any president since Abraham Lincoln, our first Republican president. I have done more in three years for the black community than Joe Biden has done in 47 years—and when I'm reelected, the best is yet to come!

When I took office, the Middle East was in total chaos. ISIS was rampaging, Iran was on the rise, and the war in Afghanistan had no end in sight. I withdrew from the terrible, one-sided Iran Nuclear Deal. Unlike many presidents before me, I kept my promise, recognized Israel's true capital and moved our Embassy to Jerusalem. But not only did we talk about it as a future site, we got it built. Rather than spending $1 billion on a new building as planned, we took an already owned existing building in a better location, and opened it at a cost of less than $500,000. We also recognized Israeli sovereignty over the Golan Heights, and this month we achieved the first Middle East peace deal in 25 years. In addition, we obliterated 100 percent of the ISIS Caliphate, and killed its founder and leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. Then, in a separate operation, we eliminated the world's number one terrorist, Qasem Soleimani.

Unlike previous administrations, I have kept America OUT of new wars -- and our troops are coming home. We have spent nearly $2.5 trillion on completely rebuilding our military, which was very badly depleted when I took office. This includes three separate pay raises for our great warriors. We also launched the Space Force, the first new branch of the United States military since the Air Force was created almost 75 years ago.

We have spent the last four years reversing the damage Joe Biden inflicted over the last 47 years.

Biden's record is a shameful roll call of the most catastrophic betrayals and blunders in our lifetime. He has spent his entire career on the wrong side of history. Biden voted for the NAFTA disaster, the single worst trade deal ever enacted; he supported China's entry into the World Trade Organization, one of the greatest economic disasters of all time. After those Biden calamities, the United States lost 1 in 4 manufacturing jobs. The laid off workers in Michigan, Ohio, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and many other states didn't want Joe Biden's hollow words of empathy, they wanted their jobs back!

As Vice President, he supported the Trans Pacific Partnership which would have been a death sentence for the U.S. Auto Industry; he backed the horrendous South Korea trade deal, which took many jobs from our country. He repeatedly supported mass amnesty for illegal immigrants. He voted FOR the Iraq War; he opposed the mission to take out Osama bin Laden; he opposed killing Soleimani; he oversaw the rise of ISIS, and cheered the rise of China as "a positive development" for America and the world. That's why China supports Joe Biden and desperately wants him to win.

China would own our country if Joe Biden got elected. Unlike Biden, I will hold them fully accountable for the tragedy they caused.

In recent months, our nation, and the rest of the world, has been hit with a once-in-a-century pandemic that China allowed to spread around the globe. We are grateful to be joined tonight by several of our incredible nurses and first responders -- please stand and accept our profound thanks. Many Americans have sadly lost friends and cherished loved ones to this horrible disease. As one nation, we mourn, we grieve, and we hold in our hearts forever the memories of all of those lives so tragically taken. In their honor, we will unite. In their memory, we will overcome.

When the China Virus hit, we launched the largest national mobilization since World War II. Invoking the Defense Production Act, we produced the world's largest supply of ventilators. Not a single American who has needed a ventilator has been denied a ventilator. We shipped hundreds of millions of masks, gloves and gowns to our front line healthcare workers. To protect our nation's seniors, we rushed supplies, testing kits, and personnel to nursing homes and long term care facilities. The Army Corps of Engineers built field hospitals, and the Navy deployed our great hospital ships.

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We developed, from scratch, the largest and most advanced testing system in the world. America has tested more than every country in Europe put together, and more than every nation in the Western Hemisphere COMBINED. We have conducted 40 million more tests than the next closest nation.

We developed a wide array of effective treatments, including a powerful anti-body treatment known as Convalescent Plasma that will save thousands of lives. Thanks to advances we have pioneered, the fatality rate has been reduced by 80 percent since April.

The United States has among the lowest case fatality rates of any major country in the world. The European Union's case fatality rate is nearly three times higher than ours. Altogether, the nations of Europe have experienced a 30 percent greater increase in excess mortality than the United States.

We enacted the largest package of financial relief in American history. Thanks to our Paycheck Protection Program, we have saved or supported more than 50 million American jobs. As a result, we have seen the smallest economic contraction of any major western nation, and we are recovering much faster. Over the past three months, we have gained over 9 million jobs, a new record.

Unfortunately, from the beginning, our opponents have shown themselves capable of nothing but a partisan ability to criticize. When I took bold action to issue a travel ban on China, Joe Biden called it hysterical and xenophobic. If we had listened to Joe, hundreds of thousands more Americans would have died.

Instead of following the science, Joe Biden wants to inflict a painful shutdown on the entire country. His shutdown would inflict unthinkable and lasting harm on our nation's children, families, and citizens of all backgrounds.

The cost of the Biden shutdown would be measured in increased drug overdoses, depression, alcohol addiction, suicides, heart attacks, economic devastation and more. Joe Biden's plan is not a solution to the virus, but rather a surrender.

My Administration has a different approach. To save as many lives as possible, we are focusing on the science, the facts and the data. We are aggressively sheltering those at highest risk -- especially the elderly -- while allowing lower-risk Americans to safely return to work and school.

Most importantly, we are marshalling America's scientific genius to produce a vaccine in RECORD TIME. Under Operation Warp Speed, we have three different vaccines in the final stage of trials right now, years ahead of what has been achieved before. We are producing them in advance, so that hundreds of millions of doses will be quickly available.

We will have a safe and effective vaccine this year, and together we will crush the virus.

At the Democrat convention, you barely heard a word about their agenda. But that's not because they don't have one. It's because their agenda is the most extreme set of proposals ever put forward by a major party nominee. Joe Biden may claim he is an "ally of the Light," but when it comes to his agenda, Biden wants to keep you completely in the dark.

He has pledged a $4 trillion tax hike on almost all American families, which will totally collapse our rapidly improving economy and once again record stock markets. On the other hand, just as I did in my first term, I will cut taxes even further for hardworking moms and dads, not raise them. We will also provide tax credits to bring jobs out of China BACK to America -- and we will impose tariffs on any company that leaves America to produce jobs overseas. We'll make sure our companies and jobs stay in our country, as I've already been doing. Joe Biden's agenda is Made in China. My agenda is MADE IN THE USA.

Biden has promised to abolish the production of American oil, coal, shale, and natural gas -- laying waste to the economies of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Texas, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Colorado, and New Mexico. Millions of jobs will be lost, and energy prices will soar. These same policies led to crippling power outages in California just last week. How can Joe Biden claim to be an "ally of the Light" when his own party can't even keep the lights on?

Joe Biden's campaign has even published a 110-page policy platform co-authored with Far-Left Senator Bernie Sanders. The Biden-Bernie Manifesto calls for suspending ALL removals of illegal aliens, implementing nationwide Catch-and-Release; and providing illegal aliens with free taxpayer-funded lawyers. Joe Biden recently raised his hand on the debate stage and promised to give away YOUR healthcare dollars to illegal immigrants. He also supports deadly Sanctuary Cities that protect criminal aliens. He promised to end national security travel bans from Jihadist nations, and he pledged to increase refugee admissions by 700 percent. The Biden Plan would eliminate America's borders in the middle of a global pandemic.

Biden also vowed to oppose School Choice and close down Charter Schools, ripping away the ladder of opportunity for Black and Hispanic children.

In a second term, I will EXPAND charter schools and provide SCHOOL CHOICE to every family in America. And we will always treat our teachers with the tremendous respect they deserve.

Joe Biden claims he has empathy for the vulnerable -- yet the party he leads supports the extreme late-term abortion of defenseless babies right up to the moment of BIRTH. Democrat leaders talk about moral decency, but they have no problem with stopping a baby's beating heart in the 9th month of pregnancy.

Democrat politicians refuse to protect innocent life, and then they lecture us about morality and saving America's soul? Tonight, we proudly declare that all children, born and unborn, have a GOD-GIVEN RIGHT TO LIFE.

During the Democrat Convention, the words "Under God" were removed from the Pledge of Allegiance -- not once, but twice. The fact is, this is where they are coming from.

If the left gains power, they will demolish the suburbs, confiscate your guns, and appoint justices who will wipe away your Second Amendment and other Constitutional freedoms.

Biden is a Trojan horse for socialism. If Joe Biden doesn't have the strength to stand up to wild-eyed Marxists like Bernie Sanders and his fellow radicals, then how is he ever going to stand up FOR you?

The most dangerous aspect of the Biden Platform is the attack on public safety. The Biden-Bernie Manifesto calls for Abolishing cash bail, immediately releasing 400,000 criminals onto your streets and into your neighborhoods.

When asked if he supports cutting police funding, Joe Biden replied, "Yes, absolutely." When Congresswoman Ilhan Omar called the Minneapolis police department a cancer that is "rotten to the root," Biden wouldn't disavow her support and reject her endorsement -- he proudly displayed it on his website.

Make no mistake, if you give power to Joe Biden, the radical left will Defund Police Departments all across America. They will pass federal legislation to reduce law enforcement nationwide. They will make every city look like Democrat-run Portland, Oregon. No one will be safe in Biden's America.

My administration will always stand with the men and women of law enforcement. Every day, police officers risk their lives to keep us safe, and every year, many sacrifice their lives in the line of duty.

One of these incredible Americans was Detective Miosotis Familia. She was part of a team of American Heroes called the NYPD or New York's Finest. Three years ago on Fourth of July weekend, Detective Familia was on duty in her vehicle when she was ambushed just after midnight and murdered by a monster who hated her purely for wearing the badge.

Detective Familia was a single mom -- she'd recently asked for the night shift so she could spend more time with her kids. Two years ago, I stood in front of the U.S. Capitol alongside those children, and held their Grandmother's hand as they mourned their terrible loss and we honored Detective Familia's extraordinary life.

Detective Familia's three children are with us this evening. Genesis, Peter, and Delilah, we are so grateful to have you here tonight. I promise you that we will treasure your mom in our memories forever.

We must remember that the overwhelming majority of police officers in this country are noble, courageous and honorable. We have to give law enforcement, our police, back their power. They are afraid to act. They are afraid to lose their pension. They are afraid to lose their jobs, and by being afraid they are not able to do their jobs. And those who suffer most are the great people who they want so desperately to protect.

When there is police misconduct, the justice system must hold wrongdoers fully and completely accountable, and it will. But what we can never have in America -- and must never allow -- is MOB RULE. In the strongest possible terms, the Republican Party condemns the rioting, looting, arson and violence we have seen in Democrat-run cities like Kenosha, Minneapolis, Portland, Chicago, and New York.

There is violence and danger in the streets of many Democrat-run cities throughout America. This problem could easily be fixed if they wanted to. We must always have law and order. All federal crimes are being investigated, prosecuted, and punished to the fullest extent of the law.

When the anarchists started ripping down our statues and monuments, I signed an order, ten years in prison, and it all stopped.

During their convention, Joe Biden and his supporters remained completely silent about the rioters and criminals spreading mayhem in Democrat-Run Cities. In the face of left-wing anarchy and mayhem in Minneapolis, Chicago, and other cities, Joe Biden's campaign did not condemn it -- they DONATED to it. At least 13 members of Joe Biden's campaign staff donated to a fund to bail out vandals, arsonists, looters, and rioters from jail.

Here tonight is the grieving family of retired police Captain David Dorn, a 38-year veteran of the St. Louis Police Department. In June, Captain Dorn was shot and killed as he tried to protect a store from rioters and looters. We are honored to be joined tonight by his wife Ann and beloved family members: Brian and Kielen. To each of you: we will never forget the heroic legacy of Captain David Dorn.

As long as I am President, I will defend the absolute right of every American citizen to live in security, dignity, and peace.

If the Democrat Party wants to stand with anarchists, agitators, rioters, looters, and flag-burners, that is up to them, but I, as your President, will not be a part of it. The Republican Party will remain the voice of the patriotic heroes who keep America Safe.

Last year, over 1,000 African-Americans were murdered as result of violent crime in just four Democrat-run cities. The top 10 most dangerous cities in the country are run by Democrats, and have been for decades. Thousands more African-Americans are victims of violent crime in these communities Joe Biden and the left ignore these American Victims. I NEVER WILL.

If the Radical Left takes power, they will apply their disastrous policies to every city, town, and suburb in America. Just imagine if the so-called peaceful demonstrators in the streets were in charge of every lever of power in the U.S. Government.

Liberal politicians claim to be concerned about the strength of American institutions. But who, exactly, is attacking them? Who is hiring the radical professors, judges, and prosecutors? Who is trying to abolish immigration enforcement, and establish speech codes designed to muzzle dissent? In every case, the attacks on American institutions are being waged by the radical left.

Always Remember: they are coming after ME, because I am fighting for YOU.

We must reclaim our independence from the left's repressive mandates. Americans are exhausted trying to keep up with the latest list of approved words and phrases, and the ever-more restrictive political decrees. Many things have a different name now, and the rules are constantly changing. The goal of cancel culture is to make decent Americans live in fear of being fired, expelled, shamed, humiliated, and driven from society as we know it. The far-left wants to coerce you into saying what you know to be FALSE, and scare you out of saying what you know to be TRUE.

But on November 3rd, you can send them a thundering message they will never forget!

Joe Biden is weak. He takes his marching orders from liberal hypocrites who drive their cities into the ground while fleeing far from the scene of the wreckage. These same liberals want to eliminate school choice, while they enroll their children in the finest private schools in the land. They want to open our borders while living in walled-off compounds and communities. They want to defund the police, while they have armed guards for themselves.

This November, we must turn the page FOREVER on this failed political class. The fact is, I'm here, and they're not -- and that's because of YOU. Together, we will write the next chapter of the Great American Story.

Over the next four years, we will make America into the Manufacturing Superpower of the World. We will expand Opportunity Zones, bring home our medical supply chains, and we will end our reliance on China once and for all. We will continue to reduce taxes and regulations at levels not seen before.

We will create 10 million jobs in the next 10 months.

We will hire MORE police, increase penalties for assaults on law enforcement, and surge federal prosecutors into high-crime communities.

We will BAN deadly Sanctuary Cities, and ensure that federal healthcare is protected for American Citizens -- not illegal aliens.

We will have strong borders, strike down terrorists who threaten our people, and keep America OUT of endless and costly foreign wars.

We will appoint prosecutors, judges, and justices who believe in enforcing the LAW -- not their own political agenda.

We will ensure equal justice for citizens of every race, religion, color and creed.

We will uphold your religious liberty, and defend your Second Amendment right to keep and bear arms.

We will protect Medicare and Social Security.

We will always, and very strongly, protect patients with pre-existing conditions, and that is a pledge from the entire Republican Party.

We will END surprise medical billing, require price transparency, and further reduce the cost of prescription drugs and health insurance premiums.

We will greatly expand energy development, continuing to remain number one in the world, and keep America Energy Independent.

We will win the race to 5G, and build the world's best cyber and missile defense.

We will fully restore patriotic education to our schools, and always protect free speech on college campuses.

We will launch a new age of American Ambition in Space. America will land the first WOMAN on the moon -- and the United States will be the first nation to plant its flag on Mars.

This is the unifying national agenda that will bring our country TOGETHER.

So tonight, I say again to all Americans: This is the most important election in the history of our country. There has never been such a difference between two parties, or two individuals, in ideology, philosophy, or vision than there is right now.

Our opponents believe that America is a depraved nation.

We want our sons and daughters to know the truth: America is the greatest and most exceptional nation in the history of the world!

Our country wasn't built by cancel culture, speech codes, and soul-crushing conformity. We are NOT a nation of timid spirits. We are a nation of fierce, proud, and independent American Patriots.

We are a nation of pilgrims, pioneers, adventurers, explorers and trailblazers who refused to be tied down, held back, or reined in. Americans have steel in their spines, grit in their souls, and fire in their hearts. There is no one like us on earth.

I want every child in America to know that you are part of the most exciting and incredible adventure in human history. No matter where your family comes from, no matter your background, in America, ANYONE CAN RISE. With hard work, devotion, and drive, you can reach any goal and achieve every ambition.

Our American Ancestors sailed across the perilous ocean to build a new life on a new continent. They braved the freezing winters, crossed the raging rivers, scaled the rocky peaks, trekked the dangerous forests, and worked from dawn till dusk. These pioneers didn't have money, they didn't have fame-- but they had each other. They loved their families, they loved their country, and they loved their God!

When opportunity beckoned, they picked up their Bibles, packed up their belongings, climbed into covered wagons, and set out West for the next adventure. Ranchers and miners, cowboys and sheriffs, farmers and settlers -- they pressed on past the Mississippi to stake a claim in the Wild Frontier.

Legends were born -- Wyatt Earp, Annie Oakley, Davy Crockett, and Buffalo Bill.

Americans built their beautiful homesteads on the Open Range. Soon they had churches and communities, then towns, and with time, great centers of industry and commerce. That is who they were. Americans build the future, we don't tear down the past!

We are the nation that won a revolution, toppled tyranny and fascism, and delivered millions into freedom. We laid down the railroads, built the great ships, raised up the skyscrapers, revolutionized industry, and sparked a new age of scientific discovery. We set the trends in art and music, radio and film, sport and literature -- and we did it all with style, confidence and flair. Because THAT is who we are.

Whenever our way of life was threatened, our heroes answered the call.

From Yorktown to Gettysburg, from Normandy to Iwo Jima, American Patriots raced into cannon blasts, bullets and bayonets to rescue American Liberty.

But America didn't stop there. We looked into the sky and kept pressing onward. We built a 6 million pound rocket, and launched it thousands of miles into space. We did it so that two brave patriots could stand tall and salute our wondrous American flag planted on the face of the Moon.

For America, nothing is impossible.

Over the next four years, we will prove worthy of this magnificent legacy. We will reach stunning new heights. And we will show the world that, for America, no dream is beyond our reach.

Together, we are unstoppable. Together, we are unbeatable. Because together, we are the proud CITIZENS of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. And on November 3rd, we will make America safer, we will make America stronger, we will make America prouder, and we will make America GREATER than ever before! Thank you, God Bless You. God Bless America — GOODNIGHT!

Temporal Coding:

Relative Narrative Coding:
Underline = distant past
Blue Highlight = past experiences
Bold = near future
Yellow highlight = distant future

Friends, delegates, and distinguished guests: I stand before you tonight honored by your support; proud of the extraordinary progress we have made together over the last four years; and brimming with confidence **in the bright future we will** build for America over the NEXT four years!

As we begin this evening, our thoughts are with the wonderful people who have just come through the wrath of Hurricane Laura. We are working closely with state and local officials in Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Mississippi, sparing no effort to save lives. While the hurricane was fierce, one of the strongest to make landfall in 150 years, the casualties and damage were far less than thought possible only 24 hours ago. This is due to the great work of FEMA, law enforcement, and the individual states. **I will be** going this weekend. We are one national family, and **we will** always protect, love and care for each other.

Here tonight are the people who have made my journey possible, and filled my life with so much joy.

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For her incredible service to our nation and its children, I want to thank our magnificent First Lady. I also want to thank my amazing daughter Ivanka for that introduction, and to all of my children and grandchildren -- I love you more than words can express. I know my brother Robert is looking down on us right now from Heaven. He was a great brother and was very proud of the job we are doing. Let us also take a moment to show our profound appreciation for a man who has always fought by our side, and stood up for our values -- a man of deep faith and steadfast conviction: Vice President Mike Pence. Mike is joined by his beloved wife, a teacher and military mom, Karen Pence.

My fellow Americans, tonight, with a heart full of gratitude and boundless optimism, I proudly accept this nomination for President of the United States.

The Republican Party, the party of Abraham Lincoln, **goes forward** united, determined, and ready to welcome millions of Democrats, Independents, and anyone who believes in the GREATNESS of America and the righteous heart of the American People.

In a new term as President, **we will** again build the greatest economy in history -- **quickly returning** to full employment, soaring incomes, and RECORD prosperity! **We will** DEFEND AMERICA against all threats, and **protect** America against all dangers. **We will** LEAD AMERICA into new frontiers of ambition and discovery, and **we will** reach for new heights of national achievement. **We will** rekindle new faith in our values, new pride in our history, and a new spirit of unity that can ONLY be realized through love for our country. Because we understand that America is NOT a land cloaked in darkness, America is the torch that enlightens the entire world.

Gathered here at our beautiful and majestic White House -- known all over the world as the People's House -- we cannot help but marvel at the miracle that is our Great American Story. This has been the home of larger-than-life figures like Teddy Roosevelt and Andrew Jackson who rallied Americans to bold visions of a bigger and brighter future. Within these walls lived tenacious generals like Presidents Grant and Eisenhower who led our soldiers in the cause of freedom. From these grounds, Thomas Jefferson sent Lewis and Clark on a daring expedition to cross a wild and uncharted continent. In the depths of a bloody Civil War, President Abraham Lincoln looked out these very windows upon a half-completed Washington Monument -- and asked God, in His Providence, to save our union. Two weeks after Pearl Harbor, Franklin Delano Roosevelt welcomed Winston Churchill, and just inside, they set our people on a course to victory in the Second World War.

In recent months, our nation, and the entire planet, has been struck by a new and powerful invisible enemy. Like those brave Americans before us, we are meeting this challenge. We are delivering lifesaving therapies, and **will produce** a vaccine BEFORE the end of the year, or maybe even sooner! **We will defeat** THE VIRUS, **end the pandemic,** and **emerge stronger** than ever before.

What united generations past was an unshakable confidence in America's destiny, and an unbreakable faith in the American People. They knew that our country is blessed by God, and has a special purpose in this world. It is that conviction that inspired the formation of our union, our westward expansion, the abolition of slavery, the passage of civil rights, the space program, and the overthrow of fascism, tyranny and communism.

This towering American spirit has prevailed over every challenge, and lifted us to the summit of human endeavor. And yet, despite all of our greatness as a nation, everything we have achieved is now endangered. This is the most important election in the history of our country. At no time before have voters faced a clearer choice between two parties, two visions, two philosophies, or two agendas.

This election **will decide** whether we SAVE the American Dream, or whether **we allow** a socialist agenda to DEMOLISH our cherished destiny.

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Your vote will decide whether we protect law abiding Americans, or **whether we give free reign** to violent anarchists, agitators, and criminals who threaten our citizens.

And this election will decide whether **we will defend** the American Way of Life, or **whether we allow a** radical movement to completely dismantle and destroy it.

At the Democrat National Convention, Joe Biden and his party repeatedly assailed America as a land of racial, economic, and social injustice. So tonight, I ask you a very simple question: How can the Democrat Party ask to lead our country when it spends so much time tearing down our country?

In the left's backward view, they do not see America as the most free, just, and exceptional nation on earth. Instead, they see a wicked nation that must be punished for its sins.

Our opponents say that redemption for YOU can only come from giving power to THEM. This is a tired anthem spoken by every repressive movement throughout history.

But in this country, we don't look to career politicians for salvation. In America, we don't turn to government to restore our souls -- we put our faith in Almighty God.

Joe Biden is not the savior of America's soul -- he is the destroyer of America's Jobs, and if given the chance, **he will be** the destroyer of American Greatness.

For 47 years, Joe Biden took the donations of blue collar workers, gave them hugs and even kisses, and told them he felt their pain -- and then he flew back to Washington and voted to ship their jobs to China and many other distant lands. Joe Biden spent his entire career outsourcing the dreams of American Workers, offshoring their jobs, opening their borders, and sending their sons and daughters to fight in endless foreign wars.

Four years ago, I ran for President because I could not watch this betrayal of our country any longer. I could not sit by as career politicians let other countries take advantage of us on trade, borders, foreign policy and national defense. Our NATO partners, as an example, were far behind in their defense payments. But at my strong urging, they agreed to pay $130 billion more a year. **This will ultimately go** to $400 billion. Secretary General Stoltenberg, who heads NATO, was amazed, and said that President Trump did what no one else was able to do.

From the moment I left my former life behind, and a good life it was, I have done nothing but fight for YOU. I did what our political establishment never expected and could never forgive, breaking the cardinal rule of Washington Politics. I KEPT MY PROMISES.

Together, we have ended the rule of the failed political class -- and they are desperate to get their power back by any means necessary. They are angry at me because instead of putting THEM FIRST, I put AMERICA FIRST!

Days after taking office, we shocked the Washington Establishment and withdrew from the last Administration's job-killing Trans Pacific Partnership. I then approved the Keystone XL and Dakota Access Pipelines, ended the unfair and costly Paris Climate Accord, and secured, for the first time, American Energy Independence. We passed record-setting tax and regulation cuts, at a rate nobody had ever seen before. Within three short years, we built the strongest economy in the history of the world.

Washington insiders asked me NOT to stand up to China -- they pleaded with me to let China continue stealing our jobs, ripping us off, and robbing our country blind. But I kept my word to the American People. We took the toughest, boldest, strongest, and hardest hitting action against China in American History.

They said that it would be impossible to terminate and replace NAFTA -- but again, they were wrong. Earlier this year, I ended the NAFTA nightmare and signed the brand new U.S. Mexico Canada Agreement into law. Now auto companies and others are building their plants and factories in America, not firing their employees and deserting us.

In perhaps no area did the Washington special interests try harder to stop us than on my policy of pro-American immigration. But I refused to back down -- and today America's borders are more secure than EVER before. We ENDED catch-and-release, stopped asylum fraud, took down human traffickers who prey on women and children, and we have deported 20,000 Gang Members and 500,000 Criminal Aliens. We have already built 300 miles of Border Wall -- and we are adding 10 new miles every single week. **The Wall will** soon be complete, and it is working beyond our wildest expectations.

We are joined this evening by members of the Border Patrol union, representing our country's courageous border agents. Thank you all.

When I learned that the Tennessee Valley Authority laid off hundreds of American Workers and forced them to train their lower-paid foreign replacements, I promptly removed the Chairman of the Board. And now, those talented American Workers have been RE-HIRED and are back providing power to Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Virginia. They have their old jobs back, and some are here with us this evening. Please stand.

Last month, I took on Big Pharma and signed orders that will massively lower the cost of your prescription drugs, and to give critically ill patients access to lifesaving cures, we passed the decades long-awaited RIGHT TO TRY legislation. We also passed VA Accountability and VA Choice.

By the end of my first term, we will have approved more than 300 federal judges, including two great new Supreme Court Justices. To bring prosperity to our forgotten inner cities, we worked hard to pass historic criminal justice reform, prison reform, opportunity zones, the long-term funding of historically black colleges and universities, and, before the China Virus came in, produced the best unemployment numbers for African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, and Asian-Americans ever recorded. I have done more for the African-American community than any president since Abraham Lincoln, our first Republican president. I have done more in three years for the black community than Joe Biden has done in 47 years—and **when I'm reelected**, the best is yet to come!

When I took office, the Middle East was in total chaos. ISIS was rampaging, Iran was on the rise, and the war in Afghanistan had no end in sight. I withdrew from the terrible, one-sided Iran Nuclear Deal. Unlike many presidents before me, I kept my promise, recognized Israel's true capital and moved our Embassy to Jerusalem. But not only did we talk about it as a future site, we got it built. Rather than spending $1 billion on a new building as planned, we took an already owned existing building in a better location, and opened it at a cost of less than $500,000. We also recognized Israeli sovereignty over the Golan Heights, and this month we achieved the first Middle East peace deal

in 25 years. In addition, we obliterated 100 percent of the ISIS Caliphate, and killed its founder and leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. Then, in a separate operation, we eliminated the world's number one terrorist, Qasem Soleimani. Unlike previous administrations, I have kept America OUT of new wars -- and our troops are coming home. We have spent nearly $2.5 trillion on completely rebuilding our military, which was very badly depleted when I took office. This includes three separate pay raises for our great warriors. We also launched the Space Force, the first new branch of the United States military since the Air Force was created almost 75 years ago.

We have spent the last four years reversing the damage Joe Biden inflicted over the last 47 years.

Biden's record is a shameful roll call of the most catastrophic betrayals and blunders in our lifetime. He has spent his entire career on the wrong side of history. Biden voted for the NAFTA disaster, the single worst trade deal ever enacted; he supported China's entry into the World Trade Organization, one of the greatest economic disasters of all time. After those Biden calamities, the United States lost 1 in 4 manufacturing jobs. The laid off workers in Michigan, Ohio, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and many other states didn't want Joe Biden's hollow words of empathy, they wanted their jobs back!

As Vice President, he supported the Trans Pacific Partnership **which would have been a death sentence** for the U.S. Auto Industry; he backed the horrendous South Korea trade deal, which took many jobs from our country. He repeatedly supported mass amnesty for illegal immigrants. He voted FOR the Iraq War; he opposed the mission to take out Osama bin Laden; he opposed killing Soleimani; he oversaw the rise of ISIS, and cheered the rise of China as "a positive development" for America and the world. That's why China supports Joe Biden and desperately wants him to win.

China would own our country if Joe Biden got elected. Unlike Biden, **I will** hold them fully accountable for the tragedy they caused.

In recent months, our nation, and the rest of the world, has been hit with a once-in-a-century pandemic that China allowed to spread around the globe. We are grateful to be joined tonight by several of our incredible nurses and first responders -- please stand and accept our profound thanks. Many Americans have sadly lost friends and cherished loved ones to this horrible disease. As one nation, we mourn, we grieve, and we hold in our hearts forever the memories of all of those lives so tragically taken. In their honor, **we will unite.** In their memory, **we will overcome.** When the China Virus hit, we launched the largest national mobilization since World War II. Invoking the Defense Production Act, we produced the world's largest supply of ventilators. Not a single American who has needed a ventilator has been denied a ventilator. We shipped hundreds of millions of masks, gloves and gowns to our front line healthcare workers. To protect our nation's seniors, we rushed supplies, testing kits, and personnel to nursing homes and long term care facilities. The Army Corps of Engineers built field hospitals, and the Navy deployed our great hospital ships.

We developed, from scratch, the largest and most advanced testing system in the world. America has tested more than every country in Europe put together, and more than every nation in the Western Hemisphere COMBINED. We have conducted 40 million more tests than the next closest nation.

We developed a wide array of effective treatments, including a powerful anti-body treatment known as Convalescent Plasma that **will save** thousands of lives. Thanks to advances we have pioneered, the fatality rate has been reduced by 80 percent since April.

The United States has among the lowest case fatality rates of any major country in the world. The European Union's case fatality rate is nearly three times higher than ours. Altogether, the nations of Europe have experienced a 30 percent greater increase in excess mortality than the United States.

We enacted the largest package of financial relief in American history. Thanks to our Paycheck Protection Program, we have saved or supported more than 50 million American jobs. As a result, we have seen the smallest economic contraction of any major western nation, and we are recovering much faster. Over the past three months, we have gained over 9 million jobs, a new record.

Unfortunately, from the beginning, our opponents have shown themselves capable of nothing but a partisan ability to criticize. When I took bold action to issue a travel ban on China, Joe Biden called it hysterical and xenophobic. If we had listened to Joe, hundreds of thousands more Americans would have died.

Instead of following the science, Joe Biden wants to inflict a painful shutdown on the entire country. **His shutdown would inflict** unthinkable and lasting harm on our nation's children, families, and citizens of all backgrounds.

The cost of the Biden shutdown **would be measured** in increased drug overdoses, depression, alcohol addiction, suicides, heart attacks, economic devastation and more. Joe Biden's plan is not a solution to the virus, but rather a surrender.

My Administration has a different approach. To save as many lives as possible, we are focusing on the science, the facts and the data. We are aggressively sheltering those at highest risk -- especially the elderly -- while allowing lower-risk Americans to safely return to work and school.

Most importantly, we are marshalling America's scientific genius to produce a vaccine in RECORD TIME. Under Operation Warp Speed, we have three different vaccines in the final stage of trials right now, years ahead of what has been achieved before. We are producing them in advance, so that hundreds of millions of doses **will be** quickly available.

We will have a safe and effective vaccine this year, and together **we will** crush the virus.

At the Democrat convention, you barely heard a word about their agenda. But that's not because they don't have one. It's because their agenda is the most extreme set of proposals ever put forward by a major party nominee. Joe Biden may claim he is an "ally of the Light," but when it comes to his agenda, Biden wants to keep you completely in the dark.

He has pledged a $4 trillion tax hike on almost all American families, **which will totally** collapse our rapidly improving economy and once again record stock markets. On the other hand, just as I did in my first term, **I will cut taxes** even further for hardworking moms and dads, not raise them. **We will also** provide tax credits to bring jobs out of China BACK to America -- and **we will** impose tariffs on any company that leaves America to produce jobs overseas. **We'll make** sure our companies and jobs stay in our country, as I've already been doing. Joe Biden's agenda is Made in China. My agenda is MADE IN THE USA.

Biden has promised to abolish the production of American oil, coal, shale, and natural gas -- laying waste to the economies of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Texas, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Colorado, and New Mexico. **Millions of jobs will be lost**, and **energy prices will soa**r. These same policies led to crippling power outages in California just last week. How can Joe Biden claim to be an "ally of the Light" when his own party can't even keep the lights on?

Joe Biden's campaign has even published a 110-page policy platform co-authored with Far-Left Senator Bernie Sanders. The Biden-Bernie Manifesto calls for suspending ALL removals of illegal aliens, implementing nationwide Catch-and-Release; and providing illegal aliens with free taxpayer-funded lawyers. Joe Biden recently raised his hand on the debate stage and promised to give away YOUR healthcare dollars to illegal immigrants. He also supports deadly Sanctuary Cities that protect criminal aliens. He promised to end national security travel bans from Jihadist nations, and he pledged to increase refugee admissions by 700 percent. **The Biden Plan would eliminate** America's borders in the middle of a global pandemic.

Biden also vowed to oppose School Choice and close down Charter Schools, ripping away the ladder of opportunity for Black and Hispanic children.

In a second term, **I will EXPAND** charter schools and **provide** SCHOOL CHOICE to every family in America. And we will always treat our teachers with the tremendous respect they deserve.

Joe Biden claims he has empathy for the vulnerable -- yet the party he leads supports the extreme late-term abortion of defenseless babies right up to the moment of BIRTH. Democrat leaders talk about moral decency, but they have no problem with stopping a baby's beating heart in the 9th month of pregnancy.

Democrat politicians refuse to protect innocent life, and then they lecture us about morality and saving America's soul? Tonight, we proudly declare that all children, born and unborn, have a GOD-GIVEN RIGHT TO LIFE.

During the Democrat Convention, the words "Under God" were removed from the Pledge of Allegiance -- not once, but twice. The fact is, this is where they are coming from.

If the left gains power, **they will** demolish the suburbs, **confiscate** your guns, and **appoint** justices who will wipe away your Second Amendment and other Constitutional freedoms.

Biden is a Trojan horse for socialism. If Joe Biden doesn't have the strength to stand up to wild-eyed Marxists like Bernie Sanders and his fellow radicals, then how is he ever going to stand up FOR you?

The most dangerous aspect of the Biden Platform is the attack on public safety. The Biden-Bernie Manifesto calls for Abolishing cash bail, immediately releasing 400,000 criminals onto your streets and into your neighborhoods. When asked if he supports cutting police funding, Joe Biden replied, "Yes, absolutely." When Congresswoman Ilhan Omar called the Minneapolis police department a cancer that is "rotten to the root," Biden wouldn't disavow her support and reject her endorsement -- he proudly displayed it on his website.

Make no mistake, if you give power to Joe Biden, **the radical left will** Defund Police Departments all across America. **They will** pass federal legislation to reduce law enforcement nationwide. **They will** make every city look like Democrat-run Portland, Oregon. **No one will be safe** in Biden's America.

My administration **will always stand** with the men and women of law enforcement. Every day, police officers risk their lives to keep us safe, and every year, many sacrifice their lives in the line of duty.

One of these incredible Americans was Detective Miosotis Familia. She was part of a team of American Heroes called the NYPD or New York's Finest. Three years ago on Fourth of July weekend, Detective Familia was on duty in her vehicle when she was ambushed just after midnight and murdered by a monster who hated her purely for wearing the badge.

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Detective Familia was a single mom -- she'd recently asked for the night shift so she could spend more time with her kids. Two years ago, I stood in front of the U.S. Capitol alongside those children, and held their Grandmother's hand as they mourned their terrible loss and we honored Detective Familia's extraordinary life.

Detective Familia's three children are with us this evening. Genesis, Peter, and Delilah, we are so grateful to have you here tonight. I promise you that we will treasure your mom in our memories forever.

We must remember that the overwhelming majority of police officers in this country are noble, courageous and honorable. We have to give law enforcement, our police, back their power. They are afraid to act. They are afraid to lose their pension. They are afraid to lose their jobs, and by being afraid they are not able to do their jobs. And those who suffer most are the great people who they want so desperately to protect.

When there is police misconduct, the justice system must hold wrongdoers fully and completely accountable, and **it will.** But what we can never have in America -- and must never allow -- is MOB RULE. In the strongest possible terms, the Republican Party condemns the rioting, looting, arson and violence we have seen in Democrat-run cities like Kenosha, Minneapolis, Portland, Chicago, and New York.

There is violence and danger in the streets of many Democrat-run cities throughout America. This problem could easily be fixed if they wanted to. We must always have law and order. All federal crimes are being investigated, prosecuted, and punished to the fullest extent of the law.

When the anarchists started ripping down our statues and monuments, I signed an order, ten years in prison, and it all stopped.

During their convention, Joe Biden and his supporters remained completely silent about the rioters and criminals spreading mayhem in Democrat-Run Cities. In the face of left-wing anarchy and mayhem in Minneapolis, Chicago, and other cities, Joe Biden's campaign did not condemn it -- they DONATED to it. At least 13 members of Joe Biden's campaign staff donated to a fund to bail out vandals, arsonists, looters, and rioters from jail.

Here tonight is the grieving family of retired police Captain David Dorn, a 38-year veteran of the St. Louis Police Department. In June, Captain Dorn was shot and killed as he tried to protect a store from rioters and looters. We are honored to be joined tonight by his wife Ann and beloved family members: Brian and Kielen. To each of you: we will never forget the heroic legacy of Captain David Dorn.

As long as I am President, **I will** defend the absolute right of every American citizen to live in security, dignity, and peace.

If the Democrat Party wants to stand with anarchists, agitators, rioters, looters, and flag-burners, that is up to them, but **I, as your President, will** not be a part of it. The **Republican Party will remain** the voice of the patriotic heroes who keep America Safe.

Last year, over 1,000 African-Americans were murdered as result of violent crime in just four Democrat-run cities. The top 10 most dangerous cities in the country are run by Democrats, and have been for decades. Thousands more African-Americans are victims of violent crime in these communities Joe Biden and the left ignore these American Victims. **I NEVER WILL.**

If the Radical Left takes power, **they will apply** their disastrous policies to every city, town, and suburb in America. Just imagine if the so-called peaceful demonstrators in the streets were in charge of every lever of power in the U.S. Government.

Liberal politicians claim to be concerned about the strength of American institutions. But who, exactly, is attacking them? Who is hiring the radical professors, judges, and prosecutors? Who is trying to abolish immigration enforcement, and establish speech codes designed to muzzle dissent? In every case, the attacks on American institutions are being waged by the radical left.

Always Remember: they are coming after ME, because I am fighting for YOU.

We must reclaim our independence from the left's repressive mandates. Americans are exhausted trying to keep up with the latest list of approved words and phrases, and the ever-more restrictive political decrees. Many things have a different name now, and the rules are constantly changing. The goal of cancel culture is to make decent Americans live in fear of being fired, expelled, shamed, humiliated, and driven from society as we know it. The far-left wants to coerce you into saying what you know to be FALSE, and scare you out of saying what you know to be TRUE.

But on November 3rd, **you can send them a thundering message they will never forget!**

Joe Biden is weak. He takes his marching orders from liberal hypocrites who drive their cities into the ground while fleeing far from the scene of the wreckage. These same liberals want to eliminate school choice, while they enroll their children in the finest private schools in the land. They want to open our borders while living in walled-off compounds and communities. They want to defund the police, while they have armed guards for themselves.

This November, we must turn the page FOREVER on this failed political class. The fact is, I'm here, and they're not -- and that's because of YOU. Together, **we will write the next chapter** of the Great American Story.

Over the next four years, **we will make America** into the Manufacturing Superpower of the World. We **will expand** Opportunity Zones, **bring home** our medical supply chains, and we **will end our rel**iance on China once and for all.

We **will** continue to reduce taxes and regulations at levels not seen before.

We **will** create 10 million jobs in the next 10 months.

We **will** hire MORE police, i**ncrease** penalties for assaults on law enforcement, and **surge** federal prosecutors into high-crime communities.

We **will BAN** deadly Sanctuary Cities, and **ensure** that federal healthcare is protected for American Citizens -- not illegal aliens.

We **will** have strong borders, **strike down** terrorists who threaten our people, and **keep America** OUT of endless and costly foreign wars.

We **will appoint** prosecutors, judges, and justices who believe in enforcing the LAW -- not their own political agenda.

We **will ensure** equal justice for citizens of every race, religion, color and creed.

We **will uphold** your religious liberty, and **defend** your Second Amendment right to keep and bear arms.

We **will protect** Medicare and Social Security.

We **will always,** and very strongly, protect patients with pre-existing conditions, and that is a pledge from the entire Republican Party.

We **will END** surprise medical billing, **require** price transparency, and **further reduce** the cost of prescription drugs and health insurance premiums.

We **will** greatly expand energy development, continuing to remain number one in the world, and keep America Energy Independent.

We **will win** the race to 5G, and **build the world's** best cyber and missile defense.

We **will fully restore** patriotic education to our schools, and **always protect free speech** on college campuses.

We **will l**aunch ==a new age of American Ambition in Space==. America **will land the first** WOMAN on the moon -- and **the United States will be the first nation** to plant its flag on Mars.

This is the unifying national agenda that will bring our country TOGETHER.

So tonight, I say again to all Americans: This is the most important election in the history of our country. There has never been such a difference between two parties, or two individuals, in ideology, philosophy, or vision than there is right now.

Our opponents believe that America is a depraved nation.

We want our sons and daughters to know the truth: America is the greatest and most exceptional nation in the history of the world!

Our country wasn't built by cancel culture, speech codes, and soul-crushing conformity. We are NOT a nation of timid spirits. We are a nation of fierce, proud, and independent American Patriots.

We are a nation of pilgrims, pioneers, adventurers, explorers and trailblazers who refused to be tied down, held back, or reined in. Americans have steel in their spines, grit in their souls, and fire in their hearts. There is no one like us on earth.

I want every child in America to know that you ==are part of the most exciting and incredible adventure in human history==. No matter where your family comes from, no matter your background, in America, ANYONE CAN RISE. With hard work, devotion, and drive, you can reach any goal and achieve every ambition.

Our American Ancestors sailed across the perilous ocean to build a new life on a new continent. They braved the freezing winters, crossed the raging rivers, scaled the rocky peaks, trekked the dangerous forests, and worked from dawn till dusk. These pioneers didn't have money, they didn't have fame-- but they had each other. They loved their families, they loved their country, and they loved their God!

When opportunity beckoned, they picked up their Bibles, packed up their belongings, climbed into covered wagons, and set out West for the next adventure. Ranchers and miners, cowboys and sheriffs, farmers and settlers -- they pressed on past the Mississippi to stake a claim in the Wild Frontier.

Legends were born -- Wyatt Earp, Annie Oakley, Davy Crockett, and Buffalo Bill.

Americans built their beautiful homesteads on the Open Range. Soon they had churches and communities, then towns, and with time, great centers of industry and commerce. That is who they were. Americans build the future, we don't tear down the past!

We are the nation that won a revolution, toppled tyranny and fascism, and delivered millions into freedom. We laid down the railroads, built the great ships, raised up the skyscrapers, revolutionized industry, and sparked a new age of scientific discovery. We set the trends in art and music, radio and film, sport and literature -- and we did it all with style, confidence and flair. Because THAT is who we are.

Whenever our way of life was threatened, our heroes answered the call.

From Yorktown to Gettysburg, from Normandy to Iwo Jima, American Patriots raced into cannon blasts, bullets and bayonets to rescue American Liberty.

But America didn't stop there. We looked into the sky and kept pressing onward. We built a 6 million pound rocket, and launched it thousands of miles into space. We did it so that two brave patriots could stand tall and salute our wondrous American flag planted on the face of the Moon.

For America, nothing is impossible.

Over the next four years, **we will p**rove worthy of this magnificent legacy. **We will** reach stunning new heights. **And we will show** the world that, for America, no dream is beyond our reach.

Together, we are unstoppable. Together, we are unbeatable. Because together, we are the proud CITIZENS of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. And on November 3rd, **we will** make America safer, **we will ma**ke America stronger, **we wil**l make America prouder, and **we wil**l make America GREATER than ever before! Thank you, God Bless You. God Bless America — GOODNIGHT!

Appendix 6: Biden Characters, Full Lists

Chart 6.1: Full List of Characters, with Temporal, Racialization and Nationality Coding (Biden)[5]

Subcategory	Character	Ref. #	Portion of Ref (discounting speaker)	Temporal Code	Racialization:	Nationality Code	Quotes
Symbolic	America	83	22.87%	Ahistorical (22, 0.06060606061) Present (49,0.1349862259), , First half of 20th Century (1), American Founding (1)		N	United we can, and will, overcome this season of darkness in America."; , I will be an American president."; "This must be an American moment."; "America isn't just a collection of clashing interests"; "We're so much bigger than that."; "We're so much better

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[5] Coding Key:
Racialization:
Y -B= Character Racialized as Black
Y- A = Character Racialized as Arab
Y-H = Character Racialized as Hispanic
Y-N = Character Racialized as Native American
Y-I = Character is Implicitly Racialized

Nationality:
N = Character is from the United States or situated/associated with the United States
G = Character from outside the United States, construed as global or foreign actor
A = Character is aspatial (metaphorical, spiritual, or cannot be associated with any one place

							than that."; " he believed America could as well."; "It's about winning the heart, and yes, the soul of America."; "For all the young people who have known only an America of rising inequity and shrinking opportunity."; "They deserve to experience America's promise in full."; (15)"And now history has delivered us to one of the most difficult moments America has ever faced."; "America is at an inflection point."; "This is a life-changing election that will determine America's future "; "Who we are as a nation."; ""What we stand for."; "most importantly, who we want to be."; "5 million Americans infected with COVID-19."; "More than 170,000 Americans have died."; "Is that the America you want for you, your family, your

							children?"; "I see a different America."; "One that is generous and strong."; "Selfless and humble."; "It's an America we can rebuild together."; "We'll make the medical supplies and protective equipment our country needs. "; "And we'll make them here in America."; "in order to protect our own people." ; "Our current president has failed in his most basic duty to this nation."; "He failed to protect America."; "And, my fellow Americans, that is unforgivable."; " I will protect America."; "I will defend us from every attack."; "And we have a great purpose as a nation: To open the doors of opportunity to all Americans."; "To save our democracy."; "To be a light to the world once again."; (28) "To finally live up to and make real the words

							written in the sacred documents that founded this nation that all men and women are created equal."; " Endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights."; "Among them life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."; With 5 million new manufacturing and technology jobs so the future is made in America."; "An opportunity for America to lead the world in clean energy "; "They're speaking to the inequity and injustice that has grown up in America."; " it will be the work of the next president to restore the promise of America to everyone."; "She is a powerful voice for this nation"; "Her story is the American story.;" "She knows about all the obstacles thrown in the way of so many in our country."; "she will make a

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							great First Lady for this nation, she loves this country so much." ; "Beau served our nation in uniform." "America will not turn a blind eye to Russian bounties on the heads of American soldiers. "; "Will we be the generation that finally wipes the stain of racism from our national character?"; "It was a wake-up call for us as a country."; "we were in a battle for the soul of this nation."; "The current president has cloaked America in darkness for much too long."; "It's time for us, for We the People, to come together." ; "America is ready to in John's words"; "America's history tells us that it has been in our darkest moments that we've made our greatest progress."; "That we've found the light. "; "And in this dark moment, I believe we are

| | | | | | | | poised to make great progress again."; "That we can find the light once more.";"I have always believed you can define America in one word."; "That in America, everyone...."; "As a united America."; "United in our pursuit of a more perfect Union. "; This is a great nation."; " let us begin -- you and I together, one nation, under God -- united in our love for America and united in our love for each other."; "And we are a good and decent people."; "'the end of this chapter of American darkness began here tonight as love and hope and light joined in the battle for the soul of the nation." "And this is a battle that we, together, will win." "This is the United States of America."; "And there has never been anything we've been unable to accomplish |

							when we've done it together."; " And we are a good and decent people."; "With passion and purpose, let us begin -- you and I together, one nation, under God -- united in our love for America"; "May history be able to say that the end of this chapter of American darkness began here tonight as love and hope and light joined in the battle for the soul of the nation."; "And this is a battle that we, together, will win."
"We" (generalized)	64	17.63%	Ahistorical (3), Present (61)		N		"It's time for us, for We the People, to come together." ; United we can, and will, overcome this season of darkness in America."; I will draw on the best of us not the worst."; "We will choose hope over fear,"; . To represent all of us, not just our base or our party."; "And so can we."; "We're so much bigger than that."; "We're

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							so much better than that."; ""Winning it for the generous among us"; "All we can ever know is whether we'll be ready when that moment arrives."; "And now history has delivered us to one of the most difficult moments America has ever faced."; "So, the question for us is simple: Are we ready?"; "I believe we are."; "We must be."; "But we know in our bones this one is more consequential."; "We can choose the path ..."; "Or we can choose a different path,"; "Who we are as a nation." "What we stand for." "And, most importantly, who we want to be." (20); "If this president is re-elected we know what will happen."; "It's an America we can rebuild together."; "We will never get our economy back on track,"; "The tragedy of where we are today"; "The

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							President keeps telling us"; ; "We lead the world in confirmed cases."; "We lead the world in deaths."; "we'll implement the national strategy"; "We'll develop and deploy"; "We'll make the medical supplies and protective equipment our country needs."(30); "And we'll make them here in America."; "So we will never again."; ; "We'll make sure"; "We'll put the politics aside"; "We'll have a national mandate.."; "He failed to protect us."; " I will defend us from every attack."; "As God's children each of us have a purpose in our lives."; "Together, we can, and we will, rebuild our economy."; "And when we do, " (40); "With an education system that trains our people"; "Yes, we're going to do more than praise our

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							essential workers."; "We're finally going to pay them."; "We can, and we will, deal with climate change."; "And we can pay for these investments"; "Because we don't need a tax code"; "One of the most powerful voices we hear in the country"; "I will be a president who will stand with our allies and friends;" "I will stand always for our values of human rights and dignity."; "History has thrust one more urgent task on us." (50); "Will we be the generation"; "I believe we're up to it."; "I believe we're ready."; "we were in a battle for the soul of this nation." "and we are"; "We can never lose that"; "United in our pursuit of a more perfect Union."; "United in our dreams of a better future for us and for our children."; "United in our determination

							to make the coming years bright."; "Are we ready?" (60); "I believe we are."; "we are a good and decent people."; "This is our moment"; "This is our moment."; ""This is our mission."; "And this is a battle that we, together, will win.";
	History	10	2.75%	Ahistorical		A	""It's a moment that calls for hope and light and love"; "No generation ever knows what history will ask of it."; "All we can ever know is whether we'll be ready when that moment arrives."; "And now history has delivered us"; "History has thrust one more urgent task on us."; "America's history tells us that it has been in our darkest moments that we've made our greatest progress. "; "May history be able to say that the end of this chapter of American darkness began here "; "This is

							our moment to make hope and history rhyme."; ""History says..."; "And hope and history rhyme""
	God	6	1.65%	Ahistorical		A	"As God's children each of us have a purpose in our lives."; " Endowed by their Creator "; " you and I together, one nation, under God"; "And may God bless you."; "And may God protect our troops."; " everyone, should be given the opportunity to go as far as their dreams and God-given ability will take them."
Intangibble Forces	Climate Change	7	1.93%	Present		G	"And the undeniable realities and accelerating threats of climate change."; " Decency, science, democracy."; "We can, and we will, deal with climate change."; "It's not only a crisis, it's an enormous opportunity." "An opportunity for America to lead the world in clean energy and create millions of new good-paying jobs in

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						the process."; "Environmental injustice."; "whether it's the existential threat posed by climate change";
Pandemic	28	7.71%	Present		G	"Stricken by disease, stricken by a virus,"; "The worst pandemic in over 100 years."; " Decency, science, democracy."; "5 million Americans infected with COVID-19."; "More than 170,000 Americans have died."; "Cases and deaths will remain far too high."; "As president, the first step I will take will be to get control of the virus that's ruined so many lives."; "ntil we deal with this virus."; "The tragedy of where we are today is it didn't have to be this bad."; "It's not this bad in Canada." (10); "The President keeps telling us the virus is going to disappear." "He keeps waiting for a miracle."; "Well, I have news for him, no miracle is coming."; "We lead the world in confirmed cases."; "We

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							lead the world in deaths."; "We'll develop and deploy rapid tests "; "We'll make the medical supplies and protective equipment our country needs."; "in order to protect our own people."; "We'll make sure our schools have the resources they need to be open, safe, and effective." ; "We'll put the politics aside and take the muzzle off our experts " (10); "We'll have a national mandate to wear a mask"; "It's a patriotic duty."; "In short, I will do what we should have done from the very beginning."; "Our current president has failed in his most basic duty to this nation."; "He failed to protect us."; "He failed to protect America."; "Look, I understand it's hard to have hope right now."; " let me take a moment to speak to those of you who have lost the most.";
	Economy	10	2.75%	Present		N	"The worst economic crisis since the Great

							Depression."; "in a time of massive unemployment, uncertainty, and fear."; "We will never get our economy back on track"; "Our economy is in tatters"; "That's why my economic plan is all about jobs, dignity, respect, and community. "; "Together, we can, and we will, rebuild our economy."; "And when we do, we'll not only build it back, we'll build it back better."; "With modern roads, bridges, highways, broadband, ports and airports as a new foundation for economic growth."; " With 5 million new manufacturing and technology jobs so the future is made in America."; "Economic injustice."
Socioeconomic subpopulations	Working class	7	1.93%	Present, Unspecified Past (1)		N	"Winning it for the workers who keep this country going"; Working families will struggle to get by…"; "He worked hard and built a great middle-class life for our family."; "Joey, a job is about a lot more than a paycheck.

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							It's about your dignity. It's about respect. It's about your place in your community.”; “With newly empowered labor unions.”; “With rising wages you can raise a family on”; "With 5 million new manufacturing and technology jobs so the future is made in America."
The wealthy	5	1.38%	Present			N	“Winning it for the workers who keep this country going, not just the privileged few at the top.”; “the wealthiest one percent will get tens of billions of dollars in new tax breaks.”; “and the president's $1.3 trillion tax giveaway to the wealthiest 1 percent and the biggest, most profitable corporations, some of which pay no tax at all.”; “Because we don't need a tax code that rewards wealth more than it rewards work”; “But it's long past time the wealthiest people and the biggest corporations in

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							this country paid their fair share";
Wealthy corporaitons	3	0.83%	Present			N	"But it's long past time the wealthiest people and the biggest corporations in this country paid their fair share"; "and the president's $1.3 trillion tax giveaway to the wealthiest 1 percent and the biggest, most profitable corporations, some of which pay no tax at all."; "No one's been tougher on the big banks or the gun lobby."
Small buisinesses	2	0.55%	Present			N	"Nearly one in 6 small businesses have closed this year."; "More mom and pop businesses will close their doors for good."
Educators	2	0.55%	Present			N	"We'll make sure our schools have the resources they need to be open, safe, and effective."; "She's an educator."
Scientific Experts	1	0.28%	Present			N	"we'll take the muzzle off our experts"
Essential workers	1	0.28%	Present			N	"Yes, we're going to do more than praise our essential workers. We're finally going to pay them."

Familial subpopulations	Youth	6	1.65%	Present		N	"For all the young people who have known only an America of rising inequity and shrinking opportunity."; "They deserve to experience America's promise in full."; "...where cost doesn't prevent young people from going to college, and student debt doesn't crush them when they get out."; "One of the most powerful voices we hear in the country today is from our young people."; "They're speaking to the inequity and injustice that has grown up in America."; "I hear their voices and if you listen, you can hear them too. "
	Children	7	1.93%	Present		N	"we will never get our kids safely back to school,"; "With child care and elder care that make it possible for parents to go to work "; "Is that the America you want for

							you, your family, your children?"; "It's about looking your kids in the eye "; " A president our children could..."
	Parents (Families)	3	0.83%	Present		N	"With child care and elder care that make it possible for parents to go to work "; , ; "A mom. A military Mom.";
	the Elderly	2	0.55%	Present		N	"for the elderly to stay in their homes with dignity"; "For our seniors, Social Security is a sacred obligation, a sacred promise made."; "With child care and elder care that make it possible for parents to go to work ";
	Women	2	0.55%	Present		N	"With equal pay for women. "; "She knows about all the obstacles thrown in the way of so many in our country. Women, Black women, Black Americans, South Asian Americans, immigrants, the left-out and left-behind."
Racial/Racia lized Groups	African Americans	3	0.83%	Present	Y- B	N	"Our economy is in tatters, with Black, Latino, Asian American,

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							and Native American communities bearing the brunt of it "; "She knows about all the obstacles thrown in the way of so many in our country. Women, Black women, Black Americans, South Asian Americans, immigrants, the left-out and left-behind."; "Winning it for those communities who have known the injustice of the "knee on the neck".”; "Racial injustice. "; "The most compelling call for racial justice since the 60's. "
	Asian Americans	2		0.55%	Present	Y - AA	N	"Our economy is in tatters, with Black, Latino, Asian American, and Native American communities bearing the brunt of it "; "She knows about all the obstacles thrown in the way of so many in our country. Women, Black women, Black Americans, South Asian Americans, immigrants, the left-out and left-behind."
	Latinos	1	0.28%		Present	Y - H	N	"Our economy is in tatters, with Black, Latino,

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						Asian American, and Native American communities bearing the brunt of it "; "She knows about all the obstacles thrown in the way of so many in our country. Women, Black women, Black Americans, South Asian Americans, immigrants, the left-out and left-behind."; "Winning it for those communities who have known the injustice of the "knee on the neck"..";
Native Americans	1	0.28%	Present	Y-N	N	"Our economy is in tatters, with Black, Latino, Asian American, and Native American communities bearing the brunt of it "
Immigrants	2	0.55%	Present	Y - H	N	"With an immigration system that powers our economy and reflects our values."; "She knows about all the obstacles thrown in the way of so many in our country. Women, Black women, Black Americans, South Asian Americans, immigrants, the

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							left-out and left-behind"
Political Parties/Movements	Democrats	3	0.83%	Present		N	"I am a proud Democrat and I will be proud to carry the banner of our party into the general election"; "while I will be a Democratic candidate, I will be an American president"; "Blue States"
	Biden's campaign	2	0.55%	Present		N	"This campaign isn't just about winning votes."; "" I've had this entire campaign";
	White Supremacists	2	0.55%	Present	Y	N	"Remember seeing those neo-Nazis and Klansmen and white supremacists coming out of the fields with lighted torches?"; "Remember the violent clash that ensued between those spreading hate and those with the courage to stand against it?"
	Republicans	2	0.55%	Present		N	"Red States"; I will work as hard for those who didn't support me as I will for those who did.
	BLM Protestors	1	0.28%	Present	Y - B	N	"Remember the violent clash that ensued between those spreading hate and those with the courage

							to stand against it?"
Government Institutions	Military	4	1.10%	Present		N	"A Military Mom."; "A decorated Iraq war veteran."; "America will not turn a blind eye to Russian bounties on the heads of American soldiers."; "And may God protect our troops."
	Government	1	0.28%	Ahistorical		N	"I don't expect the government to solve my problems,"
Places (U.S.)	Charlottesville	1	0.28%	Present	Y	N	"yesterday was the third anniversary of the events in Charlottesville."
International	World	8	2.20%	Ahistorical		G	"Or almost anywhere else in the world."; "We lead the world in confirmed cases."; "We lead the world in deaths."; "To be a light to the world once again."; "And I will work in common purpose for a more secure, peaceful, and prosperous world."; "opportunity for America to lead the world in clean energy"; ""Daddy, changed the world.""; "By far the worst performance of

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							any nation on Earth."
Russia	3		0.83%	Present		G	"Under President Biden, America will not turn a blind eye to Russian bounties on the heads of American soldiers."; "Nor will I put up with foreign interference in our most sacred democratic exercise -- voting";"I will make it clear to our adversaries the days of cozying up to dictators are over.
Allies. generalized	2		0.55%	Present		G	"I will be a president who will stand with our allies and friends"; "And I will work in common purpose for a more secure, peaceful, and prosperous world.";
China	1	0.28%		Present		G	" So we will never again be at the mercy of China and other foreign countries in order to protect our own people"
Canada	1	0.28%		Present		G	"It's not this bad in Canada. Or Europe. Or Japan. Or almost
Europe	1	0.28%		Present		G	"It's not this bad in Canada. Or Europe. Or Japan. Or almost

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	Japan	1	0.28%	Present		G	"It's not this bad in Canada. Or Europe. Or Japan. Or almost
Individuals	Biden	62	14.59%	Present		N	"I give you my word:"; "I am a proud Democrat"; "I accept this nomination for President of the United States of America."; "But while I will be a Democratic candidate,..."; ""I will work as hard for those who didn't support"; "I believe we are."; " that President Obama and I passed for"; "a man I was honored to serve alongside."; "Let me take this moment "; "I see a different America."(10) ", the first step I will take"; "Well, I have news for him, no miracle is coming."; "Well, I do."; "If I'm president"; ", I will do what what..."; "As president, I will make you this promise:"; " I will defend us from every attack. "; " let me take a moment to speak to those "; "I know how it feels "; " I know that deep black hole that opens

							up in your chest." (20); "I know how mean and cruel and unfair life can be sometimes."; "I've learned two things."; "I found the best way through pain and loss and grief is to find purpose."; "I've never forgotten those lessons."; "That's why my economic plan is all about jobs, dignity, respect, and community."; "I'm not looking to punish anyone."; "I will not let it happen."; "If I'm your president, we're going to protect Social Security and Medicare."; "You have my word."; "I hear their voices"; (30)"I won't have to do it alone."; "Because I will have a great Vice President"; "I both draw strength"; "For me, it's Jill and ours."; "But I've known two."; "After losing my first wife in a car accident,"; "I will have the strength that can only come from family."; "They give me courage and lift me up."; "Beau inspires me every day.";

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							"So I take very personally the profound responsibility" (40); "I will be a president who will stand with our allies and friends."; " I will make it clear "; "Under President Biden,"; " Nor will I put up with"; "I will stand always for our values "; "And I will work in common purpose"; "I believe we're up to it."; "I believe we're ready."; "And for me, a call to action."; "At that moment, I knew I'd have to run." "My father taught us that silence was complicity."(50); "And I could not remain silent or complicit."; "At the time, I said " ; " I've had this entire campaign"; "I met with"; "I'll never forget."; "When I leaned down to speak with her"; " I believe we are poised to make great progress "; "I have always believed "; " I believe there is only one way forward. "; "I believe we are."(60); " let us begin -- you and I together, one

							nation, under God --"; "I promise you."
Donald Trump	20	5.51%	Present			N	"The current president has cloaked America in darkness for much too long", "Just judge the president on the facts." "If this president is re-elected we know what will happen"; current occupant of the office" "what we know about this president is if he's given four more years, he will be what he's been the last four years", "a president who takes no responsibility, refuses to lead, blames others, cozies up to dictators and fan the flames of hate and division"; "He will wake up every day believing the job is about him."; "I understand something this president doesn't"; "The president keeps telling us the virus is going to disappear" "He keeps waiting for a miracle" "Well, I have news for him, no miracle is coming"; "this president still does not have a

							plan"; "our current president has failed in his most basic duty to this nation"; "he failed to protect us"; "he failed to protect America"; "...Affordable Care Act he's trying to rip away"; "the president's $1.3 trillion tax giveaway"; "The current president is threatening to break that promise"; "He's proposing to eliminate the tax that pays for almost half of Social Security"; "remember what the president said?"
	Kamala Harris	10	2.75%	Present	Y- B	N	
	Jill Biden	8	2.20%	Present		N	"For me, it's Jill and ours. [source of strength]"; " Jill came into my life and put our family back together."; " an educator." "A mom." "A military Mom." "And an unstoppable force. If she puts her mind to it, just get out of the way. Because she's going to get it done." "She was a great Second Lady" "... and she will make a great First Lady for this nation, she loves this

							country so much."
Joe Biden's Father	6	1.65%	Unspecified Past		N		My dad was a honorable decent man."; "He got knocked down a few times pretty hard but always got up."; "He worked hard and built a great middle-class life for our family"; "He used to say, "Joey, I don't expect the government to solve my problems, but I expect it to understand them."; "he would say: "Joey, a job is about a lot more than a paycheck. It's about your dignity. It's about respect. It's about your place in your community..." ; "My father taught us that silence was complicity"
Gianna Floyd	**5**	**1.65%**	**Present**	**Y -B**	**N**		**"One of the most important conversations I've had this entire campaign is with someone who is too young to vote."; I met with six-year old Gianna Floyd, a day before her Daddy George Floyd was laid to rest.; "She is incredibly**

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							brave.” “When I leaned down to speak with her, she looked into my eyes and said "Daddy, changed the world."” “Her words burrowed deep into my heart.”
Barack Obama	5		1.38%	Present	Y- B	N	"...getting rid of the protections that President Obama and I passed for people who suffer from a pre-existing condition”; “a man I was honored to serve alongside for 8 years”; “Thank you, Mr. President” “You were a great President.” “A president our children could - and did- look up to”
George Floyd	3		1.38%	Present	Y- B	N	"a day before her Daddy George Floyd was laid to rest.”; "“’Daddy [George Floyd], changed the world.’ “Maybe George Floyd's murder was the breaking point”
Franklin Roosevelt	3		0.83%	First half of 20th Century		N	“Franklin Roosevelt pledged a New Deal in a time of massive unemployment, uncertainty and fear”; “FDR insisted that he

							would recover and prevail and he believed America could as well." "And he did"
	Beau Biden	3		0.83%	Unspecified Past		N	"...while he is no longer with us, Beau inspires me every day."; "Beau served our nation in uniform."; "A decorated Iraq war veteran."
	Joe Biden's first wife	2		0.55%	Unspecified Past		N	"No man deserves one great love in his life. But I've known two."; "After losing my first wife in a car accident.."
	John Lewis	2		0.55%	Second Half of 20th Century (1), Present (1)	Y- B	N	"Maybe John Lewis' passing the inspiration."; "However it has come to be, America is ready to in John's words, to lay down "the heavy burdens of hate at last""
	Seaumus Heaney	1	0.28%		Present		G	"The Irish poet Seamus Heaney"
	Ella Baker	1	0.28%		Second Half of 20th Century	Y- B	N	"Ella Baker, a giant of the civil rights movement"
Groups of Individuals	Kamala Harris' family	2		0.55%	Present	Y- B	N	"Kamala and I both draw strength from our families." "For Kamala, it's Doug and their families."

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							"I will have the strength that can only come from family. Hunter, Ashley and all our grandchildren, my brothers, my sister. They give me courage and lift me up."
	Extended Family	1	0.28%	Present		N	

Chart 6.2: Individual and Groups of People, with Individual Codes (Rationale for Inclusion in Narrative, Gender, Ideology, Racialization (simplified) (Biden) [6]

		Ref #:	Proportion of Ref. (discounting speaker)	Rationale for Inclusion in Narrative	Gender	Associated Ideology	Simplified Racial Codes
Individuals	Biden	62			M	L	W
	Donald Trump	20	55.67%	elected political figure	M	C	W
	Kamala Harris	10	7.22%	elected political figure	F	L	NW
	Jill Biden	8	4.12%	relation of elected leader	F	L	W
	Joe Biden's Father	6	3.09%	relation of elected leader	M	L	W
	Gianna Floyd	**5**	3.09%	symbolic figure	F	L	NW
	Barack Obama	5	2.06%	elected political figure	M	L	NW
	George Floyd	3	2.06%	symbolic figure	M	L	NW
	Franklin Roosevelt	3	1.03%	elected political figure	M	L	W

[6] Coding Key:
Gender:
M = Male
F = Female
G = groups of people

Ideology:
L = liberal
C = conservative
N = non-salient

Racialization code (simplified)
W = white
NW = non-white

	Beau Biden	3	1.03%	relation of elected leader	M	L	W
	Joe Biden's first wife	2	1.03%	relation of elected leader	M	L	W
	John Lewis	2	1.03%	activist/elected political figure	M	L	NW
	Seaumus Heaney	1	1.03%	artist	M	N	W
	Ella Baker	1	1.03%	activist	F	L	NW
Groups of Individuals	Kamala Harris' family	2	1.03%	relation of elected leader	G	L	NW
	Extended Family	1	1.03%	relation of elected leader	G	L	W

Appendix 7: Trump Characters, Full Lists

Chart 7.1: Full List of Characters, with Temporal, Racialization and Nationality Coding (Trump)[7]

Subcategory	Character	Ref. #	Proportion of Total Ref	Temporal Code	Racialization	Nationality	Ref. Location
Symbolic	America	123	19.55%	Ahistorical (52) Present day (61, 0.09697933227), First half of 20th century (2), Second half of 20th century (3), unspecified past experience (5)		N	"we will build for America over the NEXT four years!"; "We are one national family, "; "For her incredible service to our nation and its children,"; "My fellow Americans,"; " wipe away your Second Amendment and other Constitutional freedoms."; "anyone who believes in the GREATNESS of America and the righteous heart of the American People."; "We will DEFEND AMERICA "; "we will LEAD AMERICA"; "a new spirit of unity that can ONLY be

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[7] Coding Key:
Racialization:
Y -B= Character Racialized as Black
Y- A = Character Racialized as Arab
Y-H = Character Racialized as Hispanic
Y-N = Character Racialized as Native American
Y-I = Character is Implicitly Racialized

Nationality:
N = Character is from the United States or situated/associated with the United States
G = Character from outside the United States, construed as global or foreign actor
A = Character is aspatial (metaphorical, spiritual, or cannot be associated with any one place

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| | | | | | | | | | realized through love for our country"; "Because we understand that America is NOT a land cloaked in darkness, "; "our Great American Story."(10); ", to save our union"; "they set our people"; "our nation, and the entire planet, has been struck "; "Like those brave Americans before us,"; "What united generations past was an unshakable confidence in America's destiny,"; " They knew that our country is blessed by God,"; "that inspired the formation of our union"; "This towering American spirit "; " despite all of our greatness as a nation,"; "in the history of our country."; "This election will decide whether we SAVE the American Dream," (20); "whether we will defend the American Way of Life,"; "Joe Biden and his party repeatedly assailed America "; " ask to lead our country"; " they do not see America as the most free,"; " Instead, they see a wicked nation that must be punished for its sins."; "But in this country"; "In America, "; "Joe Biden is not the savior of America's soul -"; "outsourcing the dreams of American Workers"; "this betrayal of our country" (30); "I put AMERICA FIRST!"; "But I kept my word to the American People."; "in American History."; "pro-American immigration"; "today America's borders are more secure than EVER before. "; " representing our country's"; "hundreds of American Workers"; " those talented American Workers "; "I have kept |

							America OUT of new wars "; "many jobs from our country"(40); "America and the world."; "China would own our country"; " our nation, and the rest of the world,"; "Many Americans have sadly lost friends"; "As one nation, we mourn, we grieve,"; "we launched the largest national mobilization "; "Not a single American "; "To protect our nation's seniors"; "America has tested more"; ""The United States has among the lowest case fatality" (50); "than the United States."; "in American history. "; "more than 50 million American jobs."; "hundreds of thousands more Americans "; "Joe Biden wants to inflict a painful shutdown on the entire country."; "on our nation's children"; " we are marshalling America's scientific genius"; " on almost all American families,"; " jobs out of China BACK to America"; "stay in our country,"(60); "My agenda is MADE IN THE USA."; " to abolish the production of American oil,"; " eliminate America's borders "; "every family in America"; "saving America's soul? "; "all across America. "; "in Biden's America."; "One of these incredible Americans"; "American Heroes"; "in this country "(70); "what we can never have in America"; "many Democrat-run cities throughout America. "; "every American citizen"; "the voice of the patriotic heroes who keep America Safe."; "these American Victims."; "suburb in

| | | | | | | | | | America"; "the strength of American institutions."; " the attacks on American institutions"; "Americans are exhausted "; " to make decent American"(80); "the Great American Story."; "we will make America"; "for American Citizens"; " keep America OUT of endless and costly foreign wars."; " for citizens"; "keep America Energy Independent."; "We will launch a new age of American Ambition in Space"; "America will land the first"; "This is the unifying national agenda"; " I say again to all Americans"(90); "in the history of our country"; "America is a depraved nation."; " America is the greatest "; "Our country wasn't built by cancel culture,"; "We are NOT a nation of timid spirits"; "We are a nation of fierce, proud, and independent American Patriots."; "We are a nation "; "Americans have steel in their spines,"; "There is no one like us on earth"; "every child in America" (100); "in America, ANYONE CAN RISE"; "Our American Ancestors"; "They braved the freezing winters,"; "they loved their country"; "Americans built their beautiful homesteads"; "That is who they were." "Americans build the future, we don't tear down the past!"; "We are the nation " "We laid down the railroads, "; "We set the trends in art and music" (110); "THAT is who we are"; "Whenever our way of life was threatened,"; "American Patriots raced into cannon blasts,"; "But |

								America didn't stop there. "; "We looked into the sky"; "We built a 6 million pound rocket,"; "e did it so that two brave patriots could stand tall"; "For America, nothing is impossible."; "for America, no dream is beyond our reach."; "we are the proud CITIZENS of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA."; "we will make America GREATER than ever before!"; "God Bless America"
"We" (generalized, often conflative references to the nation, the party, and the candidate's supporters)	69	10.97%	Ahistorical (11, 0.01748807631), present day (58, 0.09220985692)		N			"we have made together over the last four years"; "we begin this evening"; "we will always protect, love and care for each other"; "We will DEFEND AMERICA"; "we will reach for new heights of national achievement."; "We will rekindle new faith in our values"; "Because we understand that America is NOT a land "; "we cannot help but marvel"; "we are meeting this challenge"; "we are delivering lifesaving therapies,"; "We will defeat THE VIRUS,"; "whether we allow a socialist"; "we rapidly create millions of high paying jobs"; " whether we protect law abiding Americans,"; "whether we will defend the American Way of Life,"; "Our opponents say that redemption for YOU "; "Our NATO partners,"; "Together, we have ended the rule of the failed political class"; "not firing their employees and deserting us."; " To bring prosperity to our forgotten inner cities,"; "our troops are coming

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								home."; "China would own our country"; In their honor, we will unite."; "In their memory, we will overcome" ; "We are grateful to be joined tonight by several of our incredible nurses and first responders"; "we mourn, we grieve,"; "We have conducted 40 million more tests "; "We developed, from scratch, the largest and most advanced testing system"; "We developed a wide array of effective treatments,"; we produced the world's largest supply of ventilators." ; "We shipped hundreds of millions of"; "we rushed supplies, testing kits, and personnel"; "" fatality rate is nearly three times higher than ours."; "we have seen the smallest economic contraction"; " we have gained over 9 million jobs"; "our opponents"; " If we had listened to Joe,"; "we have three different vaccines in the final stage of trials right"; "We are producing them in advance"; "We will have a safe and effective vaccine this year"; "which will totally collapse our rapidly improving economy"; We'll make sure our companies and jobs stay in our country"; " And we will always treat our teachers "; " then they lecture us about morality"; " Tonight, we proudly declare that all children,"; "police officers risk their lives to keep us safe,"; "we will treasure your mom"; "We must remember that"; "We have to give law enforcement, "; " But what we can never have"; "we have seen in

							Democrat-run"; "we will never forget the "; "We must reclaim our independence"; " They want to open our borders "; "Together, we will write the next chapter"; "We will have strong borders"; "This is the unifying national agenda that will bring our country"; "This is the most important election in the history of our country."; " our sons and daughters to know the truth"; "Our country"; "There is no one like us on earth"; "we don't tear down the past!"; "We set the trends in art and music"; "we will prove worthy of this magnificent legacy."; "We will reach stunning new heights"; "we will show the world that, "; "we are unstoppable"; "Together, we are unbeatable"; "we are the proud CITIZENS"; (9)
	God	9	1.43%	Ahistorical		A	" and asked God, in His Providence, to save our union."; "we put our faith in Almighty God."; "born and unborn, have a GOD-GIVEN RIGHT TO LIFE."; "they loved their God!"; "they picked up their Bibles"; "Soon they had churches"; "God Bless You."; "God Bless America"; "We will uphold your religious liberty,";
Intangible Forces	Pandemic	36	5.72%	Present	Y-I (2)	G	"for the tragedy they caused" ; " a once-in-a-century pandemic that China allowed to spread around the globe. "; "to this horrible disease. "; "all of those lives so tragically taken."; " In their honor, we will unite."; "In their memory, we will overcome" ; "When the China Virus hit"; " we produced the world's

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								largest supply of ventilators"; "We shipped hundreds of millions of"; "we launched the largest national mobilization"; ""We are grateful to be joined tonight by several of our incredible nurses and first responders"; "we mourn, we grieve,"; "We have conducted 40 million more tests "; "We developed, from scratch, the largest and most advanced testing system"; "We developed a wide array of effective treatments,"; we produced the world's largest supply of ventilators."; "We shipped hundreds of millions of"; "we rushed supplies, testing kits, and personnel"; ""We developed a wide array of effective treatments,"; "fatality rate has been reduced "; "The United States has among the lowest case fatality"; "fatality rate is nearly three times higher than ours."; "We enacted the largest package of financial relief "; " 30 percent greater increase in excess mortality "; " When I took bold action to issue a travel ban on China,"; "hundreds of thousands more Americans would have died"; "a painful shutdown on the entire country."; "His shutdown would inflict "; "Joe Biden's plan is not a solution to the virus,"; "To save as many lives as possible,"; "We are aggressively sheltering those at highest risk"; "we are focusing on the science, the facts and the data."; " we are marshalling America's scientific genius"; we have

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							three different vaccines in the final stage of trials right"; "We are producing them in advance"; "We will have a safe and effective vaccine this year";
	Economy	14	2.23%	Present, Unspecified Past		N	" we will again build the greatest economy in history"; "whether we rapidly create millions of high paying jobs,"; "he is the destroyer of America's Jobs,"; "Within three short years, we built the strongest economy in the history of the world."; "one of the greatest economic disasters of all time."; "the United States lost 1 in 4 manufacturing jobs. ""the horrendous South Korea trade deal, which took many jobs from our country."; " we have saved or supported more than 50 million American jobs."; "have seen the smallest economic contraction of any major western nation,"; "which will totally collapse our rapidly improving economy"; "We'll make sure our companies and jobs stay in our country,"; "Millions of jobs will be lost, and energy prices will soar."; "we will make America into the Manufacturing Superpower of the World"; "We will create 10 million jobs in the next 10 months."
Socioeconomic subpopulations	Criminals	15	2.38%	Present	Y-I	N	"whether we give free reign to violent anarchists, agitators, and criminals who threaten our citizens."; "took down human traffickers who prey on women and children"; "calls for Abolishing cash bail, immediately releasing 400,000 criminals onto your streets and into your neighborhoods."; "we can never have in America --

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							and must never allow -- is MOB RULE.”; “In the strongest possible terms, the Republican Party condemns the rioting, looting, arson and violence”; “When the anarchists started ripping down our statues and monuments”; “During their convention, Joe Biden and his supporters remained completely silent about the rioters and criminals spreading mayhem in Democrat-Run Cities.”; “In the face of left-wing anarchy and mayhem in Minneapolis, Chicago, and other cities, Joe Biden's campaign did not condemn it -- they DONATED to it.”; “At least 13 members of Joe Biden's campaign staff donated to a fund to bail out vandals, arsonists, looters, and rioters from jail.”; “Captain Dorn was shot and killed as he tried to protect a store from rioters and looters.”; “a monster who hated her purely for wearing the badge.”; “If the Democrat Party wants to stand with anarchists, agitators, rioters, looters, and flag-burners, that is up to them,”; “Just imagine if the so-called peaceful demonstrators in the streets “; “... surge federal prosecutors into high-crime communities.”;
	Immigrants	11	1.75%	Present	Y-I	G	“we have deported 20,000 Gang Members and 500,000 Criminal Aliens.”; ““He repeatedly supported mass amnesty for illegal immigrants.” ; “The Biden-Bernie Manifesto calls for suspending ALL removals of illegal aliens, implementing nationwide Catch-and-Release”; “and

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								providing illegal aliens with free taxpayer-funded lawyers."; "Joe Biden recently raised his hand on the debate stage and promised to give away YOUR healthcare dollars to illegal immigrants."; "He also supports deadly Sanctuary Cities that protect criminal aliens."; "Who is trying to abolish immigration enforcement,"; "They want to open our borders while living in walled-off compounds and communities."; "We will BAN deadly Sanctuary Cities, and ensure that federal healthcare is protected for American Citizens -- not illegal aliens."; "We will have strong borders,"; "lower-paid foreign replacements,"
	Working class	11	1.75%	Present			N	"For 47 years, Joe Biden took the donations of blue collar workers, gave them hugs and even kisses, and told them he felt their pain -- and then he flew back to Washington and voted to ship their jobs to China and many other distant lands."; "Joe Biden spent his entire career outsourcing the dreams of American Workers, offshoring their jobs, opening their borders, and sending their sons and daughters to fight in endless foreign wars."; "When I learned that the Tennessee Valley Authority laid off hundreds of American Workers and forced them to train their lower-paid foreign replacements, I promptly removed the Chairman of the Board."; "And now, those talented American Workers have been RE-HIRED and are back providing power to

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							Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Virginia."; "They have their old jobs back, and some are here with us this evening."; "The laid off workers in Michigan, Ohio, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and many other states didn't want Joe Biden's hollow words of empathy, they wanted their jobs back!"; "We laid down the railroads, built the great ships, raised up the skyscrapers, revolutionized industry"; " Ranchers and miners, cowboys and sheriffs, farmers and settlers"; "we will make America into the Manufacturing Superpower of the World."; "continue stealing our jobs"; "the United States lost 1 in 4 manufacturing jobs. "
	Educators	4	0.64%	Present		N	"we will always treat our teachers with the tremendous respect they deserve."; ""These same liberals want to eliminate school choice, while they enroll their children in the finest private schools in the land."; "We will fully restore patriotic education to our schools, and always protect free speech on college campuses." ; "Biden also vowed to oppose School Choice and close down Charter Schools,"
	Auto companies	2	0.32%	Present		N	"Now auto companies and others are building their plants and factories in America, not firing their employees and deserting us.: "he supported the Trans Pacific Partnership which would have been a death sentence for the U.S. Auto Industry";

Energy Industry	2	0.32%	Present		N	"Tennessee Valley Authority laid off hundreds of American Workers and forced them to train their lower-paid foreign replacements, I promptly removed the Chairman of the Board."; "Biden has promised to abolish the production of American oil, coal, shale, and natural gas"
Essential Workers	2	0.32%	Present		N	"We are grateful to be joined tonight by several of our incredible nurses and first responders"; "We shipped hundreds of millions of masks, gloves and gowns to our front line healthcare workers."
Pilgrims	1	0.16%	Pre-American Founding		N	"Our American Ancestors sailed across the perilous ocean to build a new life on a new continent."
Pioneers	8	1.27%	Second Half of 19th century		N	"We are a nation of pilgrims, pioneers, adventurers, explorers and trailblazers who refused to be tied down, held back, or reined in."; "Soon they had churches and communities, then towns, and with time, great centers of industry and commerce."; "Americans have steel in their spines, grit in their souls, and fire in their hearts." ; "They braved the freezing winters, crossed the raging rivers, scaled the rocky peaks, trekked the dangerous forests, and worked from dawn till dusk."; "These pioneers didn't have money, they didn't have fame-- but they had each other." "They loved their families, they loved their country, and they loved their God!"; "When opportunity beckoned, they picked up their Bibles, packed up their belongings, climbed

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								into covered wagons, and set out West for the next adventure."; "Ranchers and miners, cowboys and sheriffs, farmers and settlers -- they pressed on past the Mississippi to stake a claim in the Wild Frontier";
Familial subpopulations	Children	15	2.38%	Present			N	"took down human traffickers who prey on women and children"; "His shutdown would inflict unthinkable and lasting harm on our nation's children, families, and citizens of all backgrounds."; "close down Charter Schools, ripping away the ladder of opportunity for Black and Hispanic children."; "yet the party he leads supports the extreme late-term abortion of defenseless babies right up to the moment of BIRTH."; "they have no problem with stopping a baby's beating heart in the 9th month of pregnancy."; "refuse to protect innocent life, "; "Tonight, we proudly declare that all children, born and unborn, have a GOD-GIVEN RIGHT TO LIFE."; "Detective Familia was a single mom" -- "she'd recently asked for the night shift so she could spend more time with her kids."; "Two years ago, I stood in front of the U.S. Capitol alongside those children, and held their Grandmother's hand as they mourned their terrible loss." " three children are with us this evening."; "I promise you that we will treasure your mom in our memories forever."; ""These same liberals want to eliminate school choice, while they enroll their

								children in the finest private schools in the land."; "We want our sons and daughters to know the truth: America is the greatest and most exceptional nation in the history of the world!"; "I want every child in America to know that you are part of the most exciting and incredible adventure in human history"
	Parents (Families)	6		0.95%	Present		N	"I will cut taxes even further for hardworking moms and dads, not raise them."; "His shutdown would inflict unthinkable and lasting harm on our nation's children, families, and citizens of all backgrounds."; "provide SCHOOL CHOICE to every family in America."; "No matter where your family comes from, no matter your background, in America, ANYONE CAN RISE."; "They loved their families," ; "He has pledged a \$4 trillion tax hike on almost all American families, "; " I will EXPAND charter schools and provide SCHOOL CHOICE to every family in America."
	Elderly	2		0.32%	Present		N	"We are aggressively sheltering those at highest risk -- especially the elderly -- while allowing lower-risk Americans to safely return to work and school."; " To protect our nation's seniors, we rushed supplies, testing kits, and personnel to nursing homes and long term care facilities. "
	Women	1		0.16%	Present		N	"took down human traffickers who prey on women and children"

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Racial/Racialized Groups	African Americans	8	1.27%	Present	Y - B	N'	"produced the best unemployment numbers for African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, and Asian-Americans ever recorded."; "I have done more for the African-American community than any president since Abraham Lincoln, our first Republican president."; "I have done more in three years for the black community than Joe Biden has done in 47 years"; "close down Charter Schools, ripping away the ladder of opportunity for Black and Hispanic children."; " over 1,000 African-Americans were murdered as result of violent crime in just four Democrat-run cities."; "Thousands more African-Americans are victims of violent crime in these communities "; "We will ensure equal justice for citizens of every race, religion, color and creed." ; "To bring prosperity to our forgotten inner cities, we worked hard to pass historic criminal justice reform, prison reform, opportunity zones, the long-term funding of historically black colleges and universities"
	Hispanic Americans	3	0.48%	Present	Y - H	N	"produced the best unemployment numbers for African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, and Asian-Americans ever recorded."; "close down Charter Schools, ripping away the ladder of opportunity for Black and Hispanic children."; "We will ensure equal justice for citizens of every race, religion, color and creed."

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| Political Parties/Movements | Democrats | 24 | 3.82% | Present | | N | " ready to welcome millions of Democrats, Independents, and anyone who believes in the GREATNESS of America and the righteous heart of the American People." ; "At the Democrat National Convention, Joe Biden and his party repeatedly assailed America as a land of racial, economic, and social injustice."; "So tonight, I ask you a very simple question: How can the Democrat Party ask to lead our country when it spends so much time tearing down our country?"; "In the left's backward view,"; " from the beginning, our opponents have shown themselves capable of nothing but a partisan ability to criticize."; "At the Democrat convention, you barely heard a word about their agenda."; " But that's not because they don't have one."; "It's because their agenda is the most extreme set of proposals ever put forward by a major party nominee."; "During the Democrat Convention, the words "Under God" were removed from the Pledge of Allegiance -"; "If the left gains power, they will demolish the suburbs, confiscate your guns, and appoint justices"; ""They will make every city look like Democrat-run Portland, Oregon."; "the Republican Party condemns the rioting, looting, arson and violence we have seen in Democrat-run cities like Kenosha, Minneapolis, Portland, Chicago, and New York."; "There is violence and |

								danger in the streets of many Democrat-run cities throughout America."; " "During their convention, Joe Biden and his supporters remained completely silent about the rioters and criminals spreading mayhem in Democrat-Run Cities.";"If the Democrat Party wants to stand with anarchists, agitators, rioters, looters, and flag-burners, that is up to them,"; "over 1,000 African-Americans were murdered as result of violent crime in just four Democrat-run cities."; "The top 10 most dangerous cities in the country are run by Democrats,"; " Joe Biden and the left ignore these American Victims. "; "Liberal politicians claim to be concerned about the strength of American institutions." ; "the left's repressive mandates"; "He takes his marching orders from liberal hypocrites who drive their cities into the ground while fleeing far from the scene of the wreckage."; "These same liberals want to eliminate school choice, while they enroll their children in the finest private schools in the land."; "They want to open our borders while living in walled-off compounds and communities."; "They want to defund the police, while they have armed guards for themselves."; "this failed political class."
	Radical Left	13	2.07%	Present			N	"or whether we allow a socialist agenda to DEMOLISH our cherished destiny."; "whether we

									allow a radical movement to completely dismantle and destroy it."; "Biden is a Trojan horse for socialism"; "his fellow radicals,"; " the radical left will Defund Police Departments all across America."; "They will pass federal legislation to reduce law enforcement nationwide";. "They will make every city look like Democrat-run Portland, Oregon." "No one will be safe"; "If the Radical Left takes power, they will apply their disastrous policies to every city, town, and suburb in America."; "Who is hiring the radical professors, judges, and prosecutors?"; "the attacks on American institutions are being waged by the radical left."; "the left's repressive mandates."; "The far-left wants to coerce you into saying what you know to be FALSE, and scare you out of saying what you know to be TRUE."
	Political Establish ment	9		1.43%	Present			N	"But in this country, we don't look to career politicians for salvation."; "I could not sit by as career politicians…"; "I did what our political establishment never expected and could never forgive"; "Together, we have ended the rule of the failed political class -- and they are desperate to get their power back by any means necessary."; "They are angry at me because instead of putting THEM FIRST, I put AMERICA FIRST!"; "Days after taking office, we shocked the Washington Establishment and withdrew from the last Administration's job-killing

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							Trans Pacific Partnership.”; “Washington insiders asked me NOT to stand up to China”; “in no area did the Washington special interests...”; “this failed political class.”
	Republicans	4	0.64%	Present		N	“The Republican Party, the party of Abraham Lincoln,; “ In the strongest possible terms, the Republican Party condemns the rioting, looting, arson and violence we have seen in Democrat-run cities like Kenosha, Minneapolis, Portland, Chicago, and New York.”; “The Republican Party will remain the voice of the patriotic heroes who keep America Safe.”; “that is a pledge from the entire Republican Party.”
	Independents	1	0.16%	Present		N	“ready to welcome millions of Democrats, Independents, and anyone who believes in the GREATNESS of America and the righteous heart of the American People.”
Government Institutions	Law Enforcement	23	3.66%	Present		N	if he supports cutting police funding,”; “ Ilhan Omar called the Minneapolis police department a cancer that is "rotten to the root,"”; “the radical left will Defund Police Departments all across America.”; “They will pass federal legislation to reduce law enforcement nationwide.”; “My administration will always stand with the men and women of law enforcement.”; “Every day, police officers risk their lives to keep us safe, and every year, many sacrifice their lives in the line of duty.”; “a team of American Heroes called the NYPD or New York's Finest. “; “ hated her purely

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							for wearing the badge."; "We must remember that the overwhelming majority of police officers in this country are noble, courageous and honorable."; "We have to give law enforcement, our police, back their power."; "They are afraid to act."; "They are afraid to lose their pension."; "They are afraid to lose their jobs, and by being afraid they are not able to do their jobs."; "And those who suffer most are the great people who they want so desperately to protect."; "When there is police misconduct, the justice system must hold wrongdoers fully and completely accountable, and it will. "; "We must always have law and order."; "All federal crimes are being investigated, prosecuted, and punished to the fullest extent of the law."; " retired police Captain David Dorn, a 38-year veteran of the St. Louis Police Department"; ""The Republican Party will remain the voice of the patriotic heroes who keep America Safe."; "Who is hiring the radical professors, judges, and prosecutors?" "They want to defund the police, while they have armed guards for themselves."; "We will hire MORE police, increase penalties for assaults on law enforcement, and surge federal prosecutors into high-crime communities.": "We will appoint prosecutors, judges, and

						justices who believe in enforcing the LAW"
Military	8	1.27%	Present (7), American Founding (1), First Half of 20th Century (2), Second Half of 19th century (1)		N	"who led our soldiers in the cause of freedom"; "...and sending their sons and daughters to fight in endless foreign wars."; "and our troops are coming home."; "We have spent nearly $2.5 trillion on completely rebuilding our military, which was very badly depleted when I took office."; "This includes three separate pay raises for our great warriors."; "build the world's best cyber and missile defense."; "From Yorktown to Gettysburg, from Normandy to Iwo Jima, American Patriots raced into cannon blasts, bullets and bayonets to rescue American Liberty." "; "The Army Corps of Engineers built field hospitals, and the Navy deployed our great hospital ships."
Immigration Enforcement	8	1.27%	Present		N	"We are joined this evening by members of the Border Patrol union, representing our country's courageous border agents."; "Who is trying to abolish immigration enforcement,"; "We will have strong borders,"; "We will appoint prosecutors, judges, and justices who believe in enforcing the LAW -- not their own political agenda." "We ENDED catch-and-release, stopped asylum fraud, took down human traffickers who prey on women and children"; """ we have deported 20,000 Gang Members"; " We have already built 300 miles of Border Wall -- and we are adding 10 new miles every single week."; "The Wall will soon be complete, and it is working

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							beyond our wildest expectations."
	Space Force	6	0.95%	Present		N	"We also launched the Space Force, the first new branch of the United States military since the Air Force was created almost 75 years ago."; "We will launch a new age of American Ambition in Space."; "America will land the first WOMAN on the moon -- and the United States will be the first nation to plant its flag on Mars."; "We looked into the sky and kept pressing onward." "We built a 6 million pound rocket, and launched it thousands of miles into space." "We did it so that two brave patriots could stand tall and salute our wondrous American flag planted on the face of the Moon."
	Governm ent	2	0.32%	Present		N	"In America, we don't turn to government to restore our souls "; "were in charge of every lever of power in the U.S. Government.";
	Judiciary	2	0.32%	Present		N	"we will have approved more than 300 federal judges, including two great new Supreme Court Justices."; "Who is hiring the radical professors, judges, and prosecutors?"
	Air Force	1	0.16%	Second half of 20th century		N	"We also launched the Space Force, the first new branch of the United States military since the Air Force was created almost 75 years ago."
	State Governm ent	1	0.16%	Present		N	"and the individual states"
	Navy	1	0.16%	Present		N	the Navy deployed our great hospital ships."
	FEMA	1	0.16%	Present		N	"this is due to the great work of FEMA,"

Places (U.S.)	Arkansas	1	0.16%	Present		N	"Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Mississippi,";
	Louisiana	1	0.16%	Present		N	"Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Mississippi,";
	Mississippi	2	0.32%	Present		N	"Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Mississippi,"; "are back providing power to Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Virginia. "
	Alabama	1	0.16%	Present		N	"are back providing power to Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Virginia. "
	Tennessee	1	0.16%	Present		N	"are back providing power to Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Virginia. "
	Georgia	1	0.16%	Present		N	"are back providing power to Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Virginia. "
	Kentucky	1	0.16%	Present		N	"are back providing power to Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Virginia. "
	Virginia	1	0.16%	Present		N	"are back providing power to Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Virginia. "
	North Carolina	1	0.16%	Present		N	"are back providing power to Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Virginia. "
	Michigan	1	0.16%	Present		N	"The laid off workers in Michigan, Ohio, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and many other states didn't want Joe Biden's hollow words of empathy, they wanted their jobs back!"

Ohio	2	0.32%	Present		N		"The laid off workers in Michigan, Ohio, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and many other states didn't want Joe Biden's hollow words of empathy, they wanted their jobs back!'"; " waste to the economies of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Texas, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Colorado, and New Mexico."
New Hampshire	1	0.16%	Present		N		"The laid off workers in Michigan, Ohio, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and many other states didn't want Joe Biden's hollow words of empathy, they wanted their jobs back!'";
Pennsylvania	2	0.32%	Present		N		"The laid off workers in Michigan, Ohio, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and many other states didn't want Joe Biden's hollow words of empathy, they wanted their jobs back!'"; " waste to the economies of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Texas, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Colorado, and New Mexico."
North Dakota	1	0.16%	Present		N		" waste to the economies of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Texas, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Colorado, and New Mexico.";
Oklahoma	1	0.16%	Present		N		" waste to the economies of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Texas, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Colorado, and New Mexico.";
Colorado	1	0.16%	Present		N		" waste to the economies of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Texas, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Colorado, and New Mexico.";
New Mexico	1	0.16%	Present		N		"Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Mississippi,"; "

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	Texas	2	0.32%	Present		N	waste to the economies of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Texas, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Colorado, and New Mexico.”;
	California	1	0.16%	Present		N	“These same policies led to crippling power outages in California just last week. “
	Minneapolis	1	0.16%	Present		N	“Democrat-run cities like Kenosha, Minneapolis, Portland, Chicago, and New York”.;
	Chicago	1	0.16%	Present		N	“Democrat-run cities like Kenosha, Minneapolis, Portland, Chicago, and New York”.;
	Kenosha.	1	0.16%	Present		N	“Democrat-run cities like Kenosha, Minneapolis, Portland, Chicago, and New York”.;
	New York City	2	0.32%	Present		N	““Democrat-run cities like Kenosha, Minneapolis, Portland, Chicago, and New York”.; “American Heroes called the NYPD or New York's Finest”
	St Louis	1	0.16%	Present		N	“the St. Louis Police Department.”
	Portland, Oregon	1	0.16%	Present		N	Democrat-run Portland, Oregon
International:	World	20	3.18%	Present		G	"America is the torch that enlightens the entire world."; " known all over the world as the People's House"; "has a special purpose in this world."; "we built the strongest economy in the history of the world."; "cheered the rise of China as "a positive development" for America and the world."; "In recent months, our nation, and the rest of the world,"; " we launched the largest national mobilization since World War II. "; "we produced the world's largest supply of ventilators."; "most advanced testing system in the world. "; "has among the lowest case fatality

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								rates of any major country in the world."; "we will make America into the Manufacturing Superpower of the World. "; " continuing to remain number one in the world"; "build the world's best cyber and missile defense."; "And we will show the world that, for America, no dream is beyond our reach."; "China allowed to spread around the globe."; "There is no one like us on earth."; "In the left's backward view, they do not see America as the most free, just, and exceptional nation on earth."
	China	13	2.07%	Present			G	"voted to ship their jobs to China and many other distant lands."; "Washington insiders asked me NOT to stand up to China -- they pleaded with me to let China continue stealing our jobs, ripping us off, and robbing our country blind."; "We took the toughest, boldest, strongest, and hardest hitting action against China in American History."; "before the China Virus came in,..."; "he supported China's entry into the World Trade Organization, one of the greatest economic disasters of all time."; "and cheered the rise of China as "a positive development" for America and the world."; "That's why China supports Joe Biden and desperately wants him to win"; "China would own our country if Joe Biden got elected"; "Unlike Biden, I will hold them fully accountable for the tragedy they caused."; "In recent months, our nation, and the rest of the

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							world, has been hit with a once-in-a-century pandemic that China allowed to spread around the globe."; "When I took bold action to issue a travel ban on China, Joe Biden called it hysterical and xenophobic."; " We will also provide tax credits to bring jobs out of China BACK to America -- and we will impose tariffs on any company that leaves America to produce jobs overseas."; "Joe Biden's agenda is Made in China."; "we will end our reliance on China once and for all.";
Middle East	12	1.91%	Present	Y-I (3)	G		"Joe Biden spent his entire career outsourcing the dreams of American Workers, offshoring their jobs, opening their borders, and sending their sons and daughters to fight in endless foreign wars."; "the Middle East was in total chaos."; "ISIS was rampaging, Iran was on the rise, and the war in Afghanistan had no end in sight."; "I withdrew from the terrible, one-sided Iran Nuclear Deal."; "Unlike many presidents before me, I kept my promise, recognized Israel's true capital and moved our Embassy to Jerusalem."; ""We also recognized Israeli sovereignty "; "we obliterated 100 percent of the ISIS Caliphate, and killed its founder and leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi."; "He voted FOR the Iraq War; he opposed the mission to take out Osama bin Laden"; " he opposed killing Soleimani"; "he oversaw the rise of ISIS,"; "He promised to end national security travel bans from

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							Jihadist nations, and he pledged to increase refugee admissions by 700 percent. "; "We will have strong borders, strike down terrorists who threaten our people, and keep America OUT of endless and costly foreign wars.";
	NAFTA Partners	4	0.64%	Present		G	"Biden voted for the NAFTA disaster, the single worst trade deal ever enacted;" "Earlier this year, I ended the NAFTA nightmare and signed the brand new U.S. Mexico Canada Agreement into law. "; "The Biden Plan would eliminate America's borders in the middle of a global pandemic."; "We will have strong borders, strike down terrorists who threaten our people, and keep America OUT of endless and costly foreign wars.";
	Europe	3	0.48%	Present		G	"America has tested more than every country in Europe put together, and more than every nation in the Western Hemisphere COMBINED. We have conducted 40 million more tests than the next closest nation."; "The European Union's case fatality rate is nearly three times higher than ours." "Altogether, the nations of Europe have experienced a 30 percent greater increase in excess mortality than the United States." ;
	NATO Partners	3	0.48%	Present		G	"I could not sit by as career politicians let other countries take advantage of us on trade, borders, foreign policy and national defense."; "Our NATO partners, as an example, were far behind in their defense payments"; Secretary General

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							Stoltenberg, who heads NATO, was amazed, and said that President Trump did what no one else was able to do.";
	South Korea	1	0.16%	Present		G	"he backed the horrendous South Korea trade deal, which took many jobs from our country.";
Individuals:	Trump/the Trump Administration	81		Present		N	"I stand before you tonight honored by your support"; " I will be going this weekend."; " and filled my life with so much joy"; " I want to thank our magnificent First Lady."; "I also want to thank my amazing daughter Ivanka"; " I love you more than words can express."; "I know my brother Robert"; "I proudly accept this nomination for President of the United States."; "In a new term as President,"; " I ran for President because I could not watch" (10); "I could not sit by as career politicians"; "From the moment I left my former life behind"; "I did what our political establishment ..."; " I KEPT MY PROMISES."; "I put AMERICA FIRST!"; "But I kept my word to the American People."; ", I ended the NAFTA nightmare"; " But I refused to back down "; "When I learned that the Tennessee Valley Authority ..."; "Last month, I took on Big Pharma " (20); " I have done more for the African-American community"; " I have done more in three years for the black community "; "When I took office,"; "I kept my promise, recognized Israel's true capital and moved our Embassy to Jerusalem. "; " I have kept America OUT of new wars -"; "I will hold

							them fully accountable"; "When I took bold action to issue a travel ban on China,"; "My Administration has a different approach."; " On the other hand, just as I did in my first term, I will cut taxes"; "We are working closely with state and local officials"; "we will again build the greatest economy in history "; "we shocked the Washington Establishment"; "We passed record-setting tax and regulation cuts, at a rate nobody had ever seen before."; "Within three short years, we built the strongest economy "; " We took the toughest, boldest, strongest, and hardest hitting action "; "We ENDED catch-and-release,"; "We also passed VA Accountability"; "we will have approved more than 300 federal judges"; "we worked hard to pass historic criminal justice reform,"; "But not only did we talk about it as a future site,"; "we took an already owned existing "; "We also recognized Israeli sovereignty"; "we achieved the first Middle East peace deal in 25 years."; "we obliterated 100 percent of the ISIS Caliphate,"; " we eliminated the world's number one "; "We have spent nearly $2.5 trillion on completely rebuilding our military,"; "We also launched the Space Force"; "We have spent the last four years "; " we launched the largest national mobilization"; "we have saved or supported more than 50 million American jobs." "We enacted the largest

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| | | | | | | | | | package of financial relief "; "We are aggressively sheltering those at highest risk"; "we are focusing on the science, the facts and the data."; " we are marshalling America's scientific genius"; "We will also provide tax credit"; "We'll make sure our companies and jobs stay in our country"; "we will make America into the Manufacturing Superpower"; "We will continue"; "We will create 10 million jobs"; "We will hire MORE police"; "We will appoint prosecutors,"; "we will ensure"; "we will uphold'; "We will protect Medicare"; "We will always," "We will END surprise medical billing,"; "We will greatly expand energy development,"; "We will win the race to 5G"; We will fully restore patriotic education"; "We will launch "; "We'll make sure our companies and jobs stay in our country, as I've already been doing." (30); "my agenda is MADE IN THE USA."; " I will EXPAND charter schools"; "My administration will always stand with the men and women of law enforcement"; " I promise you that we will treasure your mom "; " I signed an order, ten years in prison, and it all stopped."; "As long as I am President, I will defend the absolute right "; " I, as your President, will not be a part of it."; "Always Remember: they are coming after ME,"; "The fact is, I'm here, and they're not -- and that's because of |

								YOU. "; "So tonight, I say again to all Americans:"; "I want every child in America to know ";
								" Joe Biden and his party repeatedly assailed America"; "Joe Biden is not the savior of America's soul"; ""he is the destroyer of America's Jobs,"; "he will be the destroyer of American Greatness."; (4)

"For 47 years, Joe Biden took the donations of blue collar workers"; "gave them hugs and even kisses, and told them he felt their pain and then he flew back to Washington and voted to ship their jobs"; "Joe Biden spent his entire career outsourcing the dreams, offshoring their jobs opening their borders, sending their sons and daughters to fight in endless foreign wars."; "I have done more in three years for the black community than Joe Biden has done in 47 years"; "Joe Biden inflicted over the last 47 years."; "Biden's record is a shameful roll call of the most catastrophic betrayals and blunders in our lifetime." "He has spent his entire career on the wrong side of history." "Biden voted for the NAFTA disaster, the single worst trade deal ever enacted;" "he supported China's entry into the World Trade Organization, one of the greatest economic disasters of all time." "After those Biden calamities, the United States lost 1 in 4 manufacturing jobs."

"The laid off workers in Michigan, Ohio, New |
| | Biden | 54 | | 8.59% | Present | | N | Hampshire, Pennsylvania, |

								and many other states didn't want Joe Biden's hollow words of empathy,"; "As Vice President, he supported the Trans Pacific Partnership which would have been a death sentence for the U.S. Auto Industry;" "he backed the horrendous South Korea trade deal, which took many jobs from our country." "He repeatedly supported mass amnesty for illegal immigrants". "He voted FOR the Iraq War; he opposed the mission to take out Osama bin Laden";" he opposed killing Soleimani"; "he oversaw the rise of ISIS, and cheered the rise of China as "a positive development" for America and the world." "That's why China supports Joe Biden and desperately wants him to win.""China would own our country if Joe Biden got elected."; "Unlike Biden, I will hold them fully accountable for the tragedy they caused."; "Joe Biden called it hysterical and xenophobic"; "If we had listened to Joe"; "Joe Biden may claim he is an "ally of the Light," but when it comes to his agenda, Biden wants to keep you completely in the dark.""He has pledged a $4 trillion tax hike on almost all American families, which will totally collapse our rapidly improving economy and once again record stock markets."; "Joe Biden's agenda is Made in China." ; "Biden has promised to abolish the production of American oil, coal, shale, and natural

								gas" ; "How can Joe Biden claim to be an "ally of the Light" when his own party can't even keep the lights on?"; "110-page policy platform co-authored with Far-Left Senator Bernie Sanders".; "The Biden-Bernie Manifesto calls for suspending ALL removals" ; " Joe Biden recently raised his hand on the debate stage and promised to give away YOUR healthcare dollars to illegal immigrants." "He also supports deadly Sanctuary Cities that protect criminal aliens." "He promised to end national security travel bans from Jihadist nations, and he pledged to increase refugee admissions by 700 percent." "The Biden Plan would eliminate America's borders in the middle of a global pandemic.""Biden also vowed to oppose School Choice and close down Charter Schools, ripping away the ladder of opportunity for Black and Hispanic children".; "Joe Biden claims he has empathy for the vulnerable"; "Biden is a Trojan horse for socialism." "If Joe Biden doesn't have the strength to stand up to wild-eyed Marxists like Bernie Sanders and his fellow radicals…"; "The most dangerous aspect of the Biden Platform is the attack on public safety."; "The Biden-Bernie Manifesto calls for Abolishing cash bail, immediately releasing 400,000 criminals onto your streets and into your neighborhoods"; "When asked if he supports cutting police funding, Joe

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							Biden replied, "Yes, absolutely."" ; "Biden wouldn't disavow her support and reject her endorsement -- he proudly displayed it on his website".";if you give power to Joe Biden…",; "No one will be safe in Biden's America".:, "Joe Biden and his supporters remained completely silent about the rioters" ;" Joe Biden's campaign did not condemn it -- they DONATED to it."; "At least 13 members of Joe Biden's campaign staff donated to a fund to bail out vandals, arsonists, looters, and rioters from jail;" "Joe Biden is weak."; "He takes his marching orders from liberal hypocrites who drive their cities into the ground while fleeing far from the scene of the wreckage."
	Miosotis Familia	7	1.11%	Present	Y- B	N	"One of these incredible Americans was Detective Miosotis Familia."; "She was part of a team of American Heroes called the NYPD or New York's Finest."; "Three years ago on Fourth of July weekend, Detective Familia was on duty in her vehicle when she was ambushed just after midnight and murdered by a monster who hated her purely for wearing the badge."" "Detective Familia was a single mom -- she'd recently asked for the night shift so she could spend more time with her kids." "Two years ago, I stood in front of the U.S. Capitol alongside those children, and held their Grandmother's hand as they mourned their terrible loss and we honored Detective

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							Familia's extraordinary life."; "Detective Familia's three children are with us this evening." I promise you that we will treasure your mom in our memories forever.
David Dorn	4	0.64%	Present	Y- B	N		"the grieving family of retired police Captain David Dorn, a 38-year veteran of the St. Louis Police Department."; "In June, Captain Dorn was shot and killed as he tried to protect a store from rioters and looters."; "We are honored to be joined tonight by his wife Ann and beloved family members: Brian and Kielen." "To each of you: we will never forget the heroic legacy of Captain David Dorn."
Bernie Sanders	3	0.48%	Present		N		"110-page policy platform co-authored with Far-Left Senator Bernie Sanders."; "The Biden-Bernie Manifesto calls for suspending ALL removals"; "wild-eyed Marxists like Bernie Sanders and his fellow radicals…"
Abraham Lincoln	3	0.48%	Second half of 20th century		N		"The Republican Party, the party of Abraham Lincoln"; President Abraham Lincoln looked out these very windows ; "I have done more for the African-American community than any president since Abraham Lincoln, our first Republican president"
Robert Trump	2	0.32%	Unspecified past experience		N		"my brother Robert is looking down on us right now from Heaven. He was a great brother and was very proud of the job we are doing."
Mike Pence	2	0.32%	Present		N		"Let us also take a moment to show our profound appreciation for a man who

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						has always fought by our side, and stood up for our values"; "a man of deep faith and steadfast conviction: Vice President Mike Pence."
Melania Trump	1	0.16%	Present		N	"For her incredible service to our nation and its children, I want to thank our magnificent First Lady";
Ivanka Trump	1	0.16%	Present		N	" my amazing daughter Ivanka for that introduction"
Karen Pence	1	0.16%	Present		N	"his beloved wife, a teacher and military mom, Karen Pence."
Teddy Roosevelt	1	0.16%	Present		N	"home of larger-than-life figures like Teddy Roosevelt and Andrew Jackson who rallied Americans to bold visions of a bigger and brighter future."
Andrew Jackson	1	0.16%	First half of 19th century		N	"home of larger-than-life figures like Teddy Roosevelt and Andrew Jackson who rallied Americans to bold visions of a bigger and brighter future."
President Grant	1	0.16%	Second half of 19th century		N	"tenacious generals like Presidents Grant and Eisenhower who led our soldiers in the cause of freedom."
President Eisenhower	1	0.16%	Second half of 20th century		N	"tenacious generals like Presidents Grant and Eisenhower who led our soldiers in the cause of freedom."
Thomas Jefferson	1	0.16%	American founding		N	"From these grounds, Thomas Jefferson sent Lewis and Clark "
Lewis and Clark	1	0.16%	American Founding		N	" sent Lewis and Clark on a daring expedition to cross a wild and uncharted continent. "
Franklin Roosevelt	1	0.16%	First half of 20th century		N	"Two weeks after Pearl Harbor, Franklin Delano Roosevelt"

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	Winston Churchill	1	0.16%	First half of 20th century		G	"Franklin Delano Roosevelt welcomed Winston Churchill"
	Secretary General Stoltenberg	1	0.16%	Present		G	"Secretary General Stoltenberg, who heads NATO, was amazed, and said that President Trump did what no one else was able to do."
	Ilhan Omar	1	0.16%	Present	Y - B	N	"When Congresswoman Ilhan Omar called the Minneapolis police department a cancer that is "rotten to the root,""
	Wyatt Earp	1	0.16%	Second half of 19th century		N	"Legends were born -- Wyatt Earp, Annie Oakley, Davy Crockett, and Buffalo Bill."
	Annie Oakley	1	0.16%	Second half of 19th century		N	"Legends were born -- Wyatt Earp, Annie Oakley, Davy Crockett, and Buffalo Bill."
	Davy Crockett	1	0.16%	Second half of 19th century		N	"Legends were born -- Wyatt Earp, Annie Oakley, Davy Crockett, and Buffalo Bill."
	Buffalo Bill	1	0.16%	Second half of 19th century		N	"Legends were born -- Wyatt Earp, Annie Oakley, Davy Crockett, and Buffalo Bill."
	Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi	1	0.16%	Present	Y - A	G	"In addition, we obliterated 100 percent of the ISIS Caliphate, and killed its founder and leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi.
	Qaem Soleimani	1	0.16%	Present	Y -A	G	"Then, in a separate operation, we eliminated the world's number one terrorist, Qasem Soleimani"
Groups of Individuals	Trump extended family	1	0.16%	Present		N	"to all of my children and grandchildren -- I love you more than words can express. "
	Genesis Peter and Delilah Familia	1	0.16%	Present	Y - B	N	"Genesis, Peter, and Delilah, we are so grateful to have you here tonight."
	Ann, Brian and	1	0.16%	Present	Y - B	N	"We are honored to be joined tonight by his wife Ann and beloved family

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	Kielen Dorn						members: Brian and Kielen.
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Chart 7.2: Individual and Groups of People, with Individual Codes (Rationale for Inclusion in Narrative, Gender, Ideology, Racialization (simplified) (Trump)[8]

Individuals:		Ref #:	**Proportion of Ref. (discounting speaker)**	**Rationale for Inclusion in Narrative**	**Gender**	**Associated Ideology**	**Simplified Racial Codes**
	Trump/the Trump Administration	81			**M**		
	Biden	54	55.67%	Elected Political Figure	M	L	W
	Miosotis Familia	7	7.22%	Symbolic figure	F	C	NW
	David Dorn	4	4.12%	Symbolic figure	M	C	NW
	Bernie Sanders	3	3.09%	elected Political Figure	M	L	W
	Abraham Lincoln	3	3.09%	elected Political Figure	M	C*	W
	Robert Trump	2	2.06%	relation of elected official	M	C	W
	Mike Pence	2	2.06%	elected Political Figure	M	C	W
	Melania Trump	1	1.03%	relation of elected official	F	C	W
	Ivanka Trump	1	1.03%	relation of elected official	M	C	W
	Karen Pence	1	1.03%	relation of elected official	F	C	W
	Teddy Roosevelt	1	1.03%	elected Political Figure	M	N	W

[8] Coding:
Gender:
M = Male
F = Female
G = groups of people

Ideology:
L = liberal
C = conservative
N = non-salient

Racialization code (simplified)
W = white
NW = non-white

	Andrew Jackson	1	1.03%	elected Political Figure	M	N	W
	President Grant	1	1.03%	elected Political Figure	M	N	W
	President Eisenhower	1	1.03%	elected Political Figure	M	C	W
	Thomas Jefferson	1	1.03%	elected Political Figure	M	N	W
	Lewis and Clark	1	1.03%	mythical American figure	M	N	W
	Franklin Roosevelt	1	1.03%	elected Political Figure	M	L	W
	Winston Churchill	1	1.03%	foreign political leader	M	C	W
	Secretary General Stoltenberg	1	1.03%	foreign political leader	M	N	W
	Ilhan Omar	1	1.03%	elected Political Figure	F	L	W
	Wyatt Earp	1	1.03%	mythical American figure	M	N	W
	Annie Oakley	1	1.03%	mythical American figure	F	N	W
	Davy Crockett	1	1.03%	mythical American figure	M	N	W
	Buffalo Bill	1	1.03%	mythical American figure	M	N	W
	Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi	1	1.03%	foreign political leader	M	N	NW
	Qaem Soleimani	1	1.03%	foreign political leader	M	N	NW
Groups of Individuals	Trump extended family	1	1.03%	relation of elected official	M	C	W
	Genesis Peter and Delilah Familia	1	1.03%	Symbolic figure	G	C	NW
	Ann, Brian and Kielen Dorn	1	1.03%	symbolic figure	G	C	NW
	Individual Ref without speaker:	176					

Appendix 8: Comparative Analysis of Trump and Biden Speeches

Chart 8.1: Full List of Trump and Biden's Characters (with raw reference counts)

Sub-Category	Trump (character and # of references)	Biden (character and # of references)

Symbolic	America (123), "We" (conflative with supporters, Americans, Republicans, etc.) (69), God (9) Total: 201	America (83), "We" (conflative with supporters, Americans, Democrats*)* (64), History (10), God (6) Total:163
Intangible Forces	Pandemic (36), Economy (14) Total: 50	Pandemic (28), Economy (10), Climate Change (7) Total: 45
Socioeconomic Subpopulations	Criminals (15), Immigrants (11), Working Class (11), Pioneers (8) Educators (4), Essential Workers (2), Auto Industry (2), Energy Industry (2), Pilgrims (1) Total: 56	Working Class (7); the wealthy (5); Wealthy corporations (3), Small Business (2); Educators (2), Immigrants (2) Essential Workers (1), Scientific Experts (1) Experts (1), Total: 24
Familial Subpopulations	Children and Infants (15) Parents/families (6), the Elderly (2), Women (1), Total: 24	Young people (6), Children (7), Parents/families (3), the Elderly (3), Women (2) Total: 21
Racial and Racialized Subpopulations	African Americans (8), Hispanic Americans (3), Total: 11	African Americans (3), Latinos (2), Asian Americans (1), Native Americans (1) Total: 7
Political Parties, Factions and Movements	Democratic Party (24), Socialists/Radical Left (13), Political Establishment (9) Republican Party (4), Independents (1) Total: 51	Democratic Party (3), Biden's campaign (2), White Supremacists (2), Republicans (1), BLM Protestors (1), Total: 9
Governmental Bodies, Forces/Agencies	Law Enforcement (23), Military (8), Immigration Enforcement (8) Space Force (6), "The Government" (2) Judiciary (2), FEMA (1), Air Force (1), Navy (1), State Government (1) Total: 53	Military (4), Government (1) Total: 5
Places (U.S.)	Pennsylvania (2), Ohio (2), Mississippi (2), Texas (2), Arkansas (1), Louisiana (1), Alabama (1), Tennessee (1), Georgia (1), Kentucky (1), Virginia (1), North Carolina (1), Michigan (1), New Hampshire (1), Oklahoma (1), North Dakota (1), Colorado (1), New Mexico (1), California (1), Minneapolis (1), Chicago (1), Kenosha (1), New York City (1), St. Louis (1), Portland (1) Total: 29	Charlottesville (1)'
International	World (20), China (13), Middle East (12), NAFTA Partners (4), Europe (3), South Korea (1) Total: 53	World (8), Russia (3), Allies, generalized (2), China (1), Canada (1), Europe (1), Japan (1) Total: 17
Individuals	Trump (81), Biden (54), Miosotis Familia (7), David Dorn (4), Bernie Sanders (3), Abraham Lincoln (3), Robert Trump (2); Qaem Soleimani (1), Abu Bakr Al-baghdadi (1), Buffalo Bill (1), Davy Crockett (1), Annie Oakley (1), Wyatt Earp (1), Ilhan Omar (1), Secretary General Stoltenberg (1), Winston Churchill (1), Franklin Roosevelt (1), Lewis and Clark (1), Thomas Jefferson (1), Dwight Eisenhower (1), Ulysses Grant (1), Andrew Jackson (1), Teddy Roosevelt (1), Karen Pence (1), Mike Pence (1), Melania Trump (1), Ivanka Trump (1) Total: 178	Biden, (62), Trump (20), Kamala Harris (10), Jill Biden (8), Joe Biden's Father (6), President Obama (5), Gianna Floyd (5), George Floyd (3), Franklin Roosevelt (3), Beau Biden (3), Joe Biden's first wife (2), John Lewis (2), Seamus Heaney (1), Ella Baker (1), Total: 134
Groups of Individuals	Ann Brian and Kielen Dorn (1), Genesis, Peter and Delilah Familia (1) Total: 2	Kamala Harris' Family (1), Joe Biden's extended family (1), Total: 2

Chart 8.2: Full List of Trump and Biden's Characters (percentage by word count)
(orange highlights = characters referenced by both speakers)

Subcategory	Character	Biden Ref.	Trump Ref.
Symbolic	America	22.87%	19.55%
	"We" (generalized)	17.63%	10.97%
	History	2.75%	0.00%
	God	1.65%	1.43%
Intangibble Forces	Climate Change	1.93%	0.00%
	Pandemic	7.71%	5.72%
	Economy	2.75%	2.23%
Socioeconomic subpopulations	Criminals	0.00%	2.38%
	Immigrants	0.00%	1.75%
	Working class	1.93%	1.75%
	The wealthy	1.38%	0.00%
	Wealthy corporations	0.83%	0.00%
	Small businesses	0.55%	0.00%
	Auto companies	0.00%	0.32%
	Energy Industry	0.00%	0.32%
	Educators	0.55%	0.64%
	Scientific Experts	0.28%	0.00%
	Essential workers	0.28%	0.32%
	Pilgrims	0.00%	0.16%
	Pioneers	0.00%	1.27%
Familial subpopulations	Youth	1.65%	0.00%
	Children	1.93%	2.38%
	Parents (Families)	0.83%	0.95%
	the Elderly	0.55%	0.32%
	Women	0.55%	0.16%
Racial/Racialized Groups	African Americans	0.83%	1.27%
	Asian Americans	0.55%	0.00%
	Latinos	0.28%	0.48%

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	Native Americans	0.28%	0.00%
	Immigrants	0.55%	0.00%
Political Parties/Movements	Democrats	0.83%	3.82%
	Radical Left	0.00%	2.07%
	Political Estabishment	0.00%	1.43%
	Independents	0.00%	0.16%
	Biden's campaign	0.55%	0.00%
	White Supremacists	0.55%	0.00%
	Republicans	0.55%	0.64%
	Black Lives Matter Protestors	0.28%	0.00%
Government Institutions	Law Enforcement	0.00%	3.66%
	Military	1.10%	1.27%
	Immigration Enforcement	0.00%	1.27%
	Government	0.28%	0.32%
	Judiciary	0.00%	0.32%
	Space Force	0.00%	0.95%
	State Government	0.00%	0.16%
	Navy	0.00%	0.16%
	FEMA	0.00%	0.16%
	Air Force	0.00%	0.16%
Places (U.S.)	Charlottesville	0.28%	0.00%
	Arkansas	0.00%	0.16%
	Louisiana	0.00%	0.16%
	Mississippi	0.00%	0.32%
	Alabama	0.00%	0.16%
	Tennessee	0.00%	0.16%
	Georgia	0.00%	0.16%
	Kentucky	0.00%	0.16%
	Virginia	0.00%	0.16%
	North Carolina	0.00%	0.16%

	Michigan	0.00%	0.16%
	Ohio	0.00%	0.32%
	New Hampshire	0.00%	0.16%
	Pennsylvania	0.00%	0.32%
	North Dakota	0.00%	0.16%
	Oklahoma	0.00%	0.16%
	Colorado	0.00%	0.16%
	New Mexico	0.00%	0.16%
	Texas	0.00%	0.32%
	California	0.00%	0.16%
	Minneapolis	0.00%	0.16%
	Chicago	0.00%	0.16%
	Kenosha.	0.00%	0.16%
	New York City	0.00%	0.32%
	St Louis	0.00%	0.16%
	Portland, Oregon	0.00%	0.16%
International	World	2.20%	3.18%
	Russia	0.83%	0.00%
	Allies. generalized	0.55%	0.00%
	China	0.28%	2.07%
	Middle East	0.00%	1.91%
	NAFTA partners	0.00%	0.64%
	Canada	0.28%	0.00%
	Europe	0.28%	0.48%
	NATO partners	0.00%	0.48%
	South Korea	0.00%	0.16%
	Japan	0.28%	0.00%
	Biden	n/a	8.59%
	Donald Trump	5.51%	n/a
	Kamala Harris	2.75%	0.00
	Jill Biden	2.20%	0.00

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	Joe Biden's Father	1.65%	0.00
	Gianna Floyd	1.65%	0.00
	Barack Obama	1.38%	0.00
	George Floyd	1.38%	0.00
	Franklin Roosevelt	0.83%	0.16%
	Beau Biden	0.83%	0.00
	Joe Biden's first wife	0.55%	0.00
	John Lewis	0.55%	0.00
	Seaumus Heaney	0.28%	0.00
	Ella Baker	0.28%	0.00
	Miosotis Familia	0.00%	1.11%
	David Dorn	0.00%	0.64%
	Bernie Sanders	0.00%	0.48%
	Abraham Lincoln	0.00%	0.48%
	Robert Trump	0.00%	0.32%
	Mike Pence	0.00%	0.32%
	Melania Trump	0.00%	0.16%
	Ivanka Trump	0.00%	0.16%
	Karen Pence	0.00%	0.16%
	Teddy Roosevelt	0.00%	0.16%
	Andrew Jackson	0.00%	0.16%
	President Grant	0.00%	0.16%
	President Eisenhower	0.00%	0.16%
	Thomas Jefferson	0.00%	0.16%
	Lewis and Clark	0.00%	0.16%
	Franklin Roosevelt	0.00%	0.16%
	Winston Churchill	0.00%	0.16%
	Secretary General Stoltenberg	0.00%	0.16%
	Ilhan Omar	0.00%	0.16%
	Wyatt Earp	0.00%	0.16%
	Annie Oakley	0.00%	0.16%

	Davy Crockett	0.00%	0.16%
	Buffalo Bill	0.00%	0.16%
	Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi	0.00%	0.16%
	Qaem Soleimani	0.00%	0.16%
	Trump extended family	0.00%	0.16%
	Genesis Peter and Delilah Familia	0.00%	0.16%
	Ann, Brian and Kielen Dorn	0.00%	0.16%
	Kamala Harris' family	0.55%	0.00%
	Biden Extended Family	0.28%	0.00%

Chart 8.3: Relative Narrativity

	Biden	Trump
Relative Narrativity	Pre-birth: 10 → 20 Past Experiences: 49 Near Future: 70 Distant Future: 10 → 20 139 actual references 158 RN (distant past and future doubled). references Word count: 3202 RN temporal References per word count: **0.04840724547**	Pre-birth: 78 → 156 Past experiences: 181 Near future: 105 Distant future: 5 → 10 Actual references: 369 RN count (distant past and future double): 452 Word count: 5697 RN temporal References per word count: **0.07934000351**

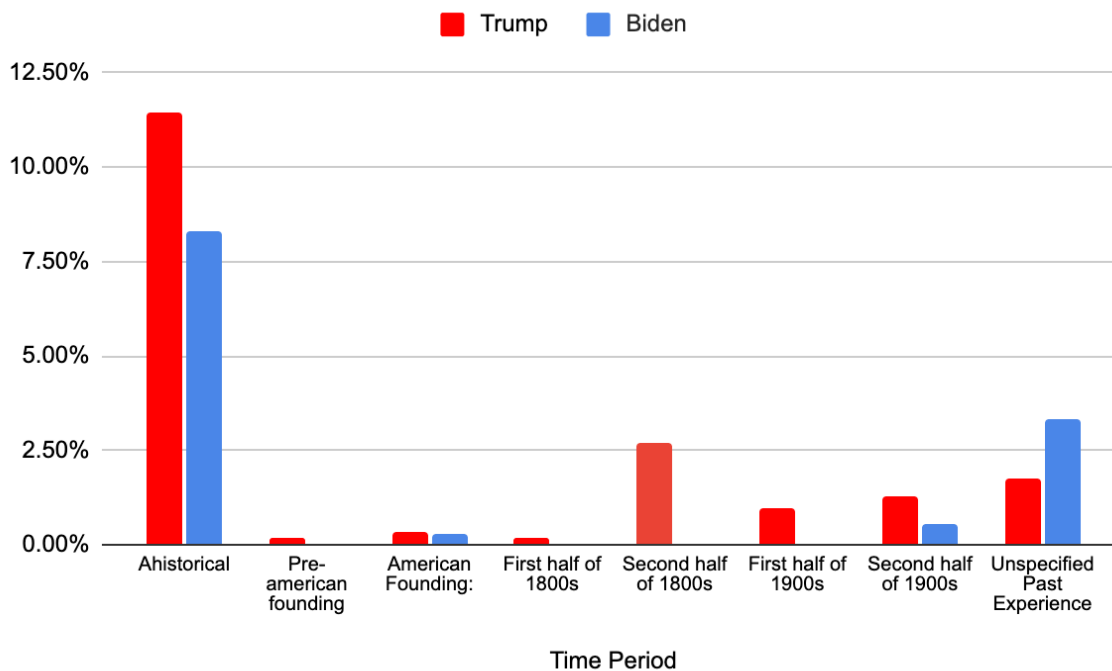Figure 8.4: Temporal Dispersion of Characters (not counting present)

Chart 8.4: Racialization Breakdown (from full list)

	Overtly Racialized as non-white	Overly racialized as white	Implicitly Racialized as non-white*	Implicitly racialized as white*	Non-Racialized
Trump (characters - 97 characters total)	4.29% (8)	12.56% (21)	4.93% (4)	5.88% (4)	85.7% (84)
Biden (55 characters total)	11.01% (13)	12.21% (8)	.28% (1)	0%	76.50% (41)

*These categories account for references the speaker made to characters which are not overtly or necessarily racialized but are talked about with some form of racialized meaning. Here, the categories of "Criminals", "Immigrants", "the pandemic" (when referring to "the China virus"), and "the Middle East" (when referring to "extreme jihadists"), were implicitly racialized as non-white. Characters who were set up in direct opposition during the speech to these characters ("Republicans," "law enforcement", "immigration enforcement" and the "working class") were counted as implicitly racialized as white. The rationale behind this is further discussed in part 2.

Chart 8.5: Overt Racialization Demographic Diversity:

	Black	Hispanic American	Native Americans	Asian Americans	Middle Eastern/Arab	White	Non-Racialized
Trump ref. (97 characters total)	3.50% (6)	0.16% (1)	0%	0%	0.32% (2)	12.56% (21)	83.46% (69)

Biden (55 characters total)	9.09% (8)	.28% (1)	.28% (1)	.28% (1)	0	12.21% (8)	77.86% (36)

Chart 8.6: Nationality or Location of Character

	United States	Foreign or Global	Aspatial
Trump (98 characters total)	87.44% (85)	11.13% (11)	1.43% (1)
Biden (55 characters total)	80.99% (43)	14.60% (10)	4.41 (2)

Individual Code Analysis (*not counting the speaker) (*The following analysis accounts only for the individuals and groups of people mentioned).

Chart 8.7: Gender References

	Male	Female	Unspecified/Mixed (in a group of people)
Trump (28 characters total)	85.57% (20)	11.34% (5)	3.09% (3)
Biden (14 character total)	59.72% (7)	36.11% (5)	4.17% (2)

Chart 8.8: Associated Political Ideology

	Liberal	Conservative	Unknown/not salient in contemporary American politics
Trump (28 individuals total)	60.82% (4)	25.77% (12)	12.37% (12)
Biden (14 characters total)	70.83% (13)	27.78 (1)	1.39% (1)

*Including Lincoln, because evoked as "First Republican President"
(People who are positioned as symbols for policy action (George Floyd, David Dorn, etc.) and their families grouped with the political ideology they represent)

Chart 8.9: Rationale for Inclusion in Narrative

	American Elected Political Leader	Foreign Political Leader	Mythical American figure (explorer, entrepreneur, etc.)	Political Activist	Family member or relation of elected leader.	Symbolically important private citizens	Artist/writer:
Trump (28 characters total)	70.10% (10)	4.12% (4)	5.15% (5)	0	6.19% (5)	13.40% (4)	0

| Biden (14 character total) | 52.78% (4)* | 0 | 0 | 4.17% (2)* | 30.56% (6) | 11.11% (2) | 1.39% (1) |

*John Lewis counted in both categories.

Chart 8.10: Simplified Racialization (individuals and groups of people only)

	White	Non-White
Biden (14 individuals total)	61% (8)	39% (6)
Trump (28 individuals total)	81.44% (22)	15.46% (6)